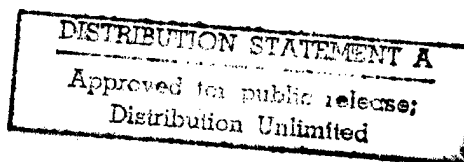


249249

JPRS-EPS-84-081

2 July 1984



# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

19980501 081

DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 3

**FBIS**

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

REPRODUCED BY  
NATIONAL TECHNICAL  
INFORMATION SERVICE  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE  
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

7  
64  
A04

#### NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [ ] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

#### PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

2 July 1984

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

### CONTENTS

#### ALBANIA

- Need for Struggle Against Parasitism, Religious Practices  
(RRUGA E PARTISE, Mar 84) ..... 1

#### BULGARIA

- Rakovski Military Academy Commander Describes Activities  
(Nikola Nedyalkov; NARODNA ARMIYA, 14 Apr 84) ..... 12

#### HUNGARY

- Disposal of Nuclear Waste From Reactor at Paks Discussed  
(Gabor Tokai; POLGARI VEDELEM, Apr 84) ..... 15
- Significant Discrimination in Wage Distributions  
(Laszlo Karcagi; NEPSZABADSAG, 16 May 84) ..... 18
- Christian Psychologist Discusses Social, Family Problems  
(Endre Gyokossy Interview; UJ EMBER, 13 May 84) ..... 24

#### POLAND

- PZPR National Delegate Conference Evaluated  
(NOWE DROGI, No 4, Apr 84) ..... 28
- Military Institute Commander Discusses Its Achievements  
(Janusz Janecki Interview; ZOLNIERZ POLSKI, No 1,  
1 Jan 84) ..... 37
- Opinion Center Director Discusses Research Methods  
(Stanislaw Kwiatkowski; KIERUNKI, No 19, 6 May 84) ..... 43
- Training of Air Defense Chemical Troops Outlined  
(Jozef Nowicki; PRZEGLAD WOJSK LOTNICZYCH I WOJSK  
OBRONY POWIETRZNEJ KRAJU, No 4, Apr 84) ..... 51

YUGOSLAVIA

Kecmanovic Discusses Role, Weaknesses of LCY (Nenad I. Kecmanovic; DANAS, 16 Apr 84) .....	54
---	----

## ALBANIA

### NEED FOR STRUGGLE AGAINST PARASITISM, RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Mar 84 pp 5-15

[Article: "The Communist Militates in Time When He Thinks, Works, Lives and Strives With His Spirit and in Conformity With its Requirements"]

[Text] By resolution of the Secretariat of the party Central Committee on 31 January of this year, the meetings for rendering accounts and elections in party organizations, as well as the party conferences of districts and military units, will occur from April to June 1984.

This important political, ideological and organizational event in the life of the party and of the whole country coincides with the great campaign in celebration of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the fatherland and the victory of the people's revolution. The communists and all the people will cast a glance at the glorious road traversed in these four decades and, from the high vantage point of 40 years, will draw up the balance sheet of historical triumphs achieved, under the leadership of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, in the building and strengthening of our socialist fatherland. They will rejoice at the colossal achievements of great historical value which have transformed Albania, once poor and backward, into a prosperous, flourishing, powerful country with high authority in the international arena and which has made its people, once suffering and exploited, a free and happy people, master of its own fate, the active builder and defender of its new socialist society.

Developed in the jubilee year celebrating the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the fatherland and the victory of the popular revolution, the campaign for rendering accounts and elections in the party is achieving a number of important objectives designated in the resolution of the party Central Committee for this jubilee year. Meanwhile, during this campaign and afterwards, special work will also be done to increase the role and effectiveness of the party organs and basic organizations, to revolutionize and further invigorate their internal life, to strengthen criticism and self-criticism, and to increase the militant spirit and the mobilizing, organizational and executing force of the party and its levers.

With respect to the time and situation in which it is developed, the campaign for rendering accounts and elections in the party will serve, in the first

place, for the all-around mobilization and increase in responsibility of every communist, cadre and worker in order to realize completely the goals set by the 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee, especially for the regular, point by point, fulfillment of the 1984 plan, concentrating particular attention on the oil sector and that of energy as a whole, on the machine industry, chemistry, the livestock, industrial crops sectors, etc.

The party, together with its 120,000 communists, constitutes a colossal force, a vanguard army in our unceasing march for the full building of our socialist society. But the great number of communists, as Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, speaks for the strength of the party "when this number is also commensurate with high quality, when ever more conscientious elements enter the party, willing to execute all the tasks set by the party, which they always place above everything of general interest" (Enver Hoxha, "Report at the 6th AWP Congress," p 179).

In order to keep its ranks strong and pure the party has always striven and worked so that every member of this army should be strong and pure politically formed and a vanguard fighter. The increase in the vanguard role of communists in this crucial year of the seventh five-year plan, the enrichment and perfection of their moral and political image, to be everywhere and always--at work, in society, in the family and in free surroundings--militant, ardent communists who defend and resolutely execute the political line of the party, its principles and norms, the laws and rules of the state and our proletarian norms and morality--all these constitute another important objective of this campaign. The whole attention of "committees and basic organizations of the party," Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, "must be concentrated on the continual tempering of communists. The party organizations must be very persevering in this direction. In their ranks there must be trained and there must militate tenacious revolutionaries, resolute communists who should fully merit the great honor of membership in the Albanian Workers Party (Enver Hoxha, "Works," vol 34, p 122).

Led by such aims and ideals, the party directs that this year as well, on the eve of the campaign for rendering accounts and elections, in all the basic organizations of the party, the communists should confront themselves with the requirements of the statute of the AWP and with that portrait which Comrade Enver Hoxha has depicted as the image of the communist.

1. The great tasks of the seventh five-year plan, their realization completely by our own forces, the savage capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist blockade of encirclement and the tense international political situation have made our economic problems more evident. The 1984 plan has higher indices. Several non-fulfilled goals from last year must be fulfilled this year too. This is the reason that the regular and point by point realization of planned tasks constitutes, for every communist and worker, the fundamental objective not only for the election campaign, but also for the whole jubilee year.

In order to achieve this objective, the party requires that a greater commitment be assured from its organs and basic organizations and their levers

to further strengthen discipline, to increase labor productivity and to lower costs, as well as to increase the level of studies and the wide application of science in all fields.

What is required concretely today from the party organs and basic organizations in order to execute these directives? In what way will they augment that leading role of theirs and the usefulness of their educational, organizational, mobilizing and controlling work?

In the first place, what is required from the party organs and basic organizations, from every communist and cadre is ever more skilled educational, explanatory, mobilizational and executing work strongly supported on the requirements of objective laws of socialist economic development and closely connected with the most acute concrete problems raised by daily practice in the realization of planned goals. The point is that on the basis of this work, every communist and worker should be conscious that, with the regular and point by point realization by him and the collective where he works of the planned goals, he is assisting in the realization of planned rates for the development of the whole economy of the country, for the continual increase of the social product which opens new perspectives to development, raises the standard of living for the laboring masses, increases the state reserves and further strengthens the defense capacity of our socialist fatherland. Such a view, in breadth and depth, of goals of the plan will make it natural that for every case of non-fulfillment of the plan the cause and the person responsible should be found and judged according to the negative consequences that they bring about in extended socialist reproduction.

It is required that the communists and party organs and basic organizations remain at the forefront of this healthy revolutionary opinion. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that: "In order for us to maintain the revolutionary party at its height, all the communists must take and retain responsibility, accomplishing their tasks up to the last point and rendering their accounts up to the last point" (Enver Hoxha "Reports and Speeches 1967-1968," p 8).

Persevering in the fulfillment of planned production everywhere and by everyone, particular attention must be devoted to it so that the increase of production should be guaranteed mainly from the increase of labor productivity and from the economical and highly effective use of energy sources and raw materials, in order that the financial assets should increase more rapidly than the increase of production; this is an absolute necessity for the fulfillment of needs in economic and cultural growth and in the strengthening of the country's defense power.

But how is it possible to achieve this objective? The way is known by now. The experience of those collective workers in city and country who fulfill the whole economic and financial index of the plan is self-enriching. The point is that every communist, as a militant and vanguard person, should strive, together with his comrades around him, for the realization and over-fulfillment of every labor norm and for the greatest possible lowering of material expenditures which, on the average, account for about 70 percent

of the total production costs. This is accomplished by means of the establishment of technical norms which include everyone in the revolutionary initiative to lower the norms for use of materials by 1-2 percent. There are concrete difficulties, but also concrete efforts in this area for every department and workplace, for every worker or type of production, especially where use is made of oil, steel, coke, electrical energy, leather, cotton, etc. The basic organizations of the party and the communists must persevere and call to responsibility the administrations of production which, parallel with the establishment of norms that have been studied as well as possible from the standpoint of the capacity of workers to execute them, must also create for themselves the material terms of control and accounting for these norms.

Naturally, the achievement of these objectives cannot be accomplished without difficulties and obstacles of an objective and subjective nature. On the path to their realization there will arise bureaucratic concepts and attitudes, the spirit of justification and the feeling of satisfaction with what has been done until now. But these difficulties cannot break or bend the communists. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that "To be a communist and a revolutionary means to take on and realize great tasks, not to remain at a standstill, not to be satisfied with the customary pace, to strive for rapid developments on all fronts, always to side with the new and to defend it" (Enver Hoxha, "Report at the 8th AWP Congress," p 76).

The 8th Plenum of the party Central Committee clarified what must be done regarding a unilateral attitude from the political, ideological and economic standpoint. The detrimental effects of this foreign manifestation for our socialist economy must always be borne in mind by everyone. The communists and their cadres in enterprises that concluded last year with losses or had both losses and activity must be especially dissatisfied with their work until now. If the Lezhe Agricultural Enterprise achieves profitable pork production, an activity which is paid for by state subsidies in many state agricultural units, why should such a thing not be achieved in the Maliq or Bushat agricultural enterprises as well? The party has correctly given precedence to bread grains. But this does not mean that it undervalues the production of meat, milk, cotton and tobacco. The communists of those agricultural units in the districts of Lushnje, Fier and several others which had deficits in the production of cotton, as well as those in the districts of Shkoder, Lezhe, Elbasan and several others which had deficits in tobacco, must be deeply troubled about the damage they have done to the economy and must now strive in time so that this year's plan for these crops will be fulfilled.

The communist, as a revolutionary who places general interests above personal ones, must also be disturbed when he himself or the other workers around him are paid without producing at a time when, in order to accomplish the lofty, well-known purpose of our socialist economy, every worker must give society far more than he takes from it. Naturally, because this criterion is generally known and followed, our economy and defense are continually strengthened and the standard of living of the masses is continually raised. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that there are also not a few cases when pay



is given without production, when many hours are wasted in the economy, when temporary incapacity for work increases instead of being lowered in some districts, such as Tirana, when some administrations equip their offices with unnecessary commodities and also do not fulfill the tasks of the plan.

These and other mistaken attitudes, when they are not eliminated, have grave consequences for the economy. It is a primary task for communists to make themselves conscientious and also to make the workers outside the party the same way, in order that they may be concerned today about what may happen tomorrow and in order to raise them all up on their feet so that they will eliminate such manifestations and attitudes, in order to find the cause and combat it with the harshness it deserves. If the revolutionary action of communists and other workers in the "Enver Hoxha" automobile and tractor combine, organized in September of last year, yielded those miraculous results that are now known, this happened because the work of the party, the militant spirit of communists deeply penetrated every worker, raised their importance, mobilized them to the level where they braved the great and difficult tasks. The same thing is happening in Koman, where the builders of this other giant of light, with the communists at the forefront, are not only fulfilling their tasks regularly, but also pledging themselves to do the work in advance of schedule, in order to give the fatherland other sources of energy ahead of schedule.

Such examples must inspire the communists and workers in the oil industry especially, to whose shortfalls of last year were also added those of January of this year, as well as those of the soda and polyvinyl chloride plant in Vlore, whose shortfalls created problems for about 20 production enterprises in the country, etc.

It is time for an increase in the accounts required of communists everywhere, especially in those sectors which have had and still have a great many shortcomings. An accounting must be required of everyone who "accomplishes that task in designated work and is either distinguished from the workers outside the party or gives a personal example or inspires the workers outside the party whom he has around him so that they may work as is necessary for the full realization of tasks" (Enver Hoxha, "Reports and Speeches 1972-1973," p 373-374).

The campaign for rendering accounts and elections in the party, all the educational and mobilizing work with the communists and workers, the rendering of accounts by communists before the masses, as well as the actual meetings for rendering accounts and elections in the basic organizations and conferences of the party must aim necessarily at the fulfillment of the production plan by every collective with a high level of value and effectiveness, but also in kind and utilization value, for each point, according to specifications.

2. A militant attitude is required from the communist in the whole of his life and activity. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that "It is not sufficient for the communist to be correct and in the vanguard only at work. He must be so in the whole of his activity, in all of his life...

The image of the communist is one and undivided, and as such it must appear in all places and at all times" (Enver Hoxha, "Reports and Speeches 1972-1973," p 374).

Such efforts should be made on a general basis by our communists who, after they fulfill their tasks in an exemplary manner at their posts in production, defense, study or experimentation and strive to have their nearby comrades do the same, militate as communists, with the spirit and requirements of the party, in city or country, in a social milieu, in the street and on the bus, in the park and in the garden, in the theater and movie house, in the stadium and at the beach, where various types of people display their nature, character, level of culture and their concepts of life and society. The party member or candidate is and must be a communist in the family, where he militates for the education of his children and other family members, for the emancipation of women and for the triumph of the new in a thoughtful and proven manner.

The party requires that the image of the communist be one and undivided, like the whole of our life. All the problems of society are connected and joined, even when they take on various specific designations such as politics, ideology, economics, organization, technology, culture, sociology or defense, even when they are resolved in various environments and at various times, during work or free time, at the production front or in the family.

The propensity of some young men and women to demand choice jobs, a propensity also encountered in members of some communists' families, is in itself as much a social problem as an economic one, as much political as ideological. Because of this, it has drawn the attention of the party and its levers, the Democratic Front and youth organizations and the family itself. It is this common front and healthy social opinion which has recently stimulated and inspired thousands of young people in Tirane, Durres, Peshkopi, Lezhe, Fier and Lushnje to abandon the concept of choice jobs and range themselves alongside miners and builders, oil workers and agricultural workers, where the fatherland has a need, where good materials are produced which they too require and consume.

But the struggle against parasitism and other manifestations and attitudes foreign to our society, such as hooliganism and even crime, is not just a matter of a campaign. Always bearing in mind the consequences that result when a young man or woman avoids the anvil of work, the process of communist education requires an increase in the effectiveness of educational and persuasive work in the family, in society and in the school and military youth organizations. The young man or woman who says, "I will work where the fatherland needs me," must be held up as an example. Help must be given for this by the parents, but also by the social circle, the communists, the youth and Democratic Front organizations, etc. Practice acquaints us with cases where entire classes in a vocational school, as well as those in construction, express their readiness to work where there is a need, but after the end of school, the promise is withdrawn. In many cases, the reason for this is the bad influence of sentimentalism on the part of parents, some of whom are even communists. Some 150 young soldiers in a military

division in Tirana promised that after the end of their military service they would go to work in the mines of this district. The condition of their military service, half of them turned out to be "incapable" of working in mines and they provided "arguments" for this by means of various types of medical "reports" furnished by themselves or by their parents. But can such a parent call himself a militant communist? Can those communists of the block or grade pretend to be such and remain silent although they have learned how to obtain such "reports"? Finally, can that doctor call himself a communist or patriot who claims that a healthy young man is sick at a time when the people have spent millions for this doctor in order that he be able to heal people?

An active and combative social opinion must dominate in every atmosphere and in regard to every problem. The communists must remain at the forefront of this opinion. The statute of the Albanian Workers Party demands from every communist that "he always be guided by the principles of the party, that he should be inexorable with regard to the resolution of questions on the basis of freindly relations, personal connections, kinship and localism."

But despite the great struggle that the party has engaged in and continues to engage in to ensure that everything is scrutinized and resolved on the basis of its principles and norms, on the basis of state laws and regulations and on the basis of the good customs of the people, cases are encountered involving doing favors and seeking favor, as well as cases of damage, abuse and stealing, cases of respect for old customs which are harmful and anachronistic in our time. These attitudes are encountered among workers and cooperative members, among office workers and soldiers, among pupils and students and among workers in commerce, where there are more frequent cases of deficits, surpluses and thefts. They are even encountered among education workers, who give fictitious grades and who conceal their inefficient work with high averages and percent grades, as well as with passing those who do not deserve it.

The discussion in the basic party organizations about communist militancy, the election campaign and the period thereafter must serve to give a crushing blow to these foreign manifestations and attitudes, especially when they are supported by communists and cadres. In our socialist Albania, these manifestations do not have a social basis. They are kept alive and stimulated by bourgeois and revisionist ideology. Conscious of this and led by Comrade Enver Hoxha's teaching that the most dangerous enemy is the one that is forgotten, the party has always demanded that the communists be inexorable with respect to both these foreign manifestations and attitudes, which occur more frequently among unformed people who still cling strongly to the old, and those communists, cadres and social activists who consider themselves too weak to combat these manifestations, fall into a fatalistic position and hold indifferent attitudes.

The party has made it clear in time that the false ideas, attitudes and actions of the people designated above are not only "capable of evil." When they are permitted to expand, they create disturbing problems of various

types: political, ideological, economic and social. The indifference of communists and cadres in the oil sector has led to the non-execution of designated directives and criteria of work discipline and its techniques. These violations have been the basic cause of non-fulfillments in the oil sector and even of breakdowns resulting in serious consequences for the economy. Similarly, because the communists of the trade enterprise in Mirdite District underestimated the favors that were done by the cadres of their enterprise, damage to the unity of the basic party organization, as well as the compromising of several cadres in the district, occurred. Because some basic party organizations in the districts of Vlore, Tirana and Lezhe did not stop cases of crime in 1982 as was necessary, the number of such cases grew in 1983.

Naturally, these and several other cases cannot sully the purity of the moral and political image of our communists and workers and cannot dim the role of communists in the whole revolutionary process of the education of workers. Nevertheless, all possibilities exist for a reduction in the number of such foreign manifestations and attitudes. Within these possibilities we also have in mind the strength of the communist's example and word, the strength of skilled, differentiated and preventive educational work by the party, which does not permit a crooked tree to destroy the load, but which, on the contrary, attempts to distribute the weight of the load over several crooked trees which can support it.

Work experience in this area is not lacking. The communists and social activists who can and must generalize it are many. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that "Social work, as unpaid work, is an element of communism and it is precisely here that the communists must emerge in the first place" (Enver Hoxha, "Reports and Speeches 1972-1973," p 279). If a single person in the "Dinamo" factory in the capital takes it upon himself and succeeds in putting a young, unformed man on the right path, why must a whole party organization be irresolute or a whole collective doubtful of their abilities to correct one or two people who have made mistakes long ago or someone who has even been condemned for that? The fear on the part of some directors of enterprises, among whom there are even communists, of accepting "difficult" workers in their collectives who "would cause embarrassment" is an error in principle and, in practice, has led to the situation where these "difficult" people are gathered together only in a few categories of enterprises, which renders the process of their education more difficult.

Our people require and generally find among the communists an example of relentlessness toward foreign manifestations, ideas and attitudes. The independent activity and initiative that are the fruit of civil responsibility, of the feeling of communist duty, do not permit any breach of social and moral norms and are a characteristic requirement of every party member. But in life, even among communists, we encounter attitudes of indifference, especially in a social environment and with respect to social problems. It is not correct to make a division of responsible duties between "I" and "they," "there at work" and "here in the housing block." It seems as if "I," the communist, although I live in that housing block or village where the party resolves a series of political, ideological and social

problems, am responsible only for my work in the enterprise, in the cooperative or in the office, while "they," the communist pensioners, are responsible for the social work in the housing block and village. This idea is maintained and this attitude is retained at a time when the party has stated the problem clearly and categorically: "How can that communist be called a revolutionary who participates in neighborhood, front or trade union meetings only when he is called and even then tries to shirk or goes so far as to pretend that he went? If he folds his hands there and considers that he has nothing worthwhile to say, then let him strive to apply what the others say" (Enver Hoxha, "Reports and Speeches 1957-1968," p 7).

Indifference, the tendency "to avoid having problems," "to avoid being damaged by people," that is observed in some communists and cadres has serious consequences in many areas of life. Let us look at these consequences in the area of the struggle against religion. The achievements in the struggle against religious ideologies and practices are great ones of historic importance. But the channel that divides our Marxist-Leninist ideology from that of religion, dialectical materialism from religious idealism, can be filled again if work is not done on a daily basis to maintain its purity. In practice, this requirement of the party is sometimes forgotten, which causes an overestimation of the steps taken and a lapse into self-satisfaction, even euphoria, as though everything has been correctly understood, as though everyone works as a deeply committed atheist. This is the reason that some communists in Kruges, Lezhe and Shkoder, even though they do see, pretend not to see those people who still retain religious faith and superstition in the depths of their being and who even now go to worship at the former "holy" places of Lac. This indifference also explains the fact that in the districts of Durres, Mat and several others, some people have continued to circumcise their children in order to show that they belong to the Muslim faith; in many other districts, including Tiranda, some religious rites are celebrated which begin with large lunches or dinners that are served on the day of someone's death and which continue with a series of commemorative days and years.

By activating their levers and by stirring up the youth and working class and the women's and Democratic Front organizations, the communists and the basic party organizations have an opportunity to resolve those problems that occur in some families in connection with the position maintained toward women and children. It is not simply a family question when a parent, for example, misuses the family income at the expense of his children. Aside from other reasons, this is because a child is not being well educated if he sees his parent provide himself with things that are unnecessary and outside the family's means; when he observes that his father or mother do not go to work regularly and that they seek to conceal this laziness with reports of incapacity for work; when the father treats the mother badly or when old, harmful practices and customs are maintained and followed in the family. It is this complex of factors, affecting the family as much as society, which authorizes the communist or social activist to intervene, tactfully and patiently, even in family affairs with the conviction that by this intervention he is, first of all, helping the members of this family themselves and,

secondly, that he is cleansing, invigorating and revolutionizing a cell of our socialist society.

These are the lofty revolutionary motives that stimulate and must even further stimulate the communists of the northern districts in particular to intervene in the affairs of the clan when this clan raises itself like a wall before new social norms, such as those regarding marriage, and, even worse, when the clan is the cause of damage to the unity of the village or basic party organization. How can the communists of Diber or Tropoje remain indifferent when, in particular cases, clan divisions have been made the cause of moral or even political quarrels and gossip? How can the communists of Risil, in Vlore District, remain indifferent when they see that in their village, where Labs [people from a region in Southern Albania], Chams [people from Chameria, a region in southern Albania currently under Greek rule], and Vlachs [Romanian-speaking Albanians] live, marriages are arranged mainly within these groups.

The indifference of some communists to these questions is explained by the fact that in many basic organizations such problems are rarely treated, but even when other problems are treated, attempts are made to avoid their ideological, political and social aspects. Naturally, economic problems have occupied and will continue to occupy a deserved place in the thematic treatment and analyses of party organizations. But parallel with inclusion in this thematic treatment, more attention must be paid to seeing genuine political, ideological and social problems in their entirety with the eye of the party, even those problems which, at first sight, may seem to be simply technical ones. If, for example, a party cooperative agricultural organization analyzes the problem of "How the needs of crops for timely services are being fulfilled," questions will also emerge from this analysis in regard to who does not appear regularly at work and why, who does not realize the norm and why, and who does poor quality work and why. If answers to these questions are sought at one or another meeting, the organization will reach the conclusion that behind the problem of crop services are hidden a number of other political, ideological, educational and technical problems. Without a correct understanding and resolution of these, it is useless to assemble and seek answers to questions about services for wheat, corn, cotton, tobacco, grapes or forage crops.

In conclusion, it can be said that where there is non-fulfillment of the production plan or a breach of discipline in school or in some military unit, there is undoubtedly something wrong with the work of the party, especially that work regarding the ideological and political education of communists and all workers. For that reason, the party, on the present occasion of the campaign for rendering accounts and elections in the party organizations, instructs that educational work with the communists and with all the workers be strengthened in a general way, in order that they should be clear and obedient with respect to their duties, that they should always live with their situations and fight to overcome them, that they should strengthen the links of the party with the masses and the unity of the people around the party, and that they should preserve and purify the moral image of the communist and the cadre.

"The party is strong when its foundations, the basic organizations, are strong" (Enver Hoxha, "Reports and Speeches 1974-1975," p 70). This great teaching of Comrade Enver Hoxha must always be kept in mind, especially during the campaign for rendering accounts and elections in the basic organizations. The discussion of communist militancy, the meetings for rendering accounts before the masses, the analysis of yearly work in basic organizations, the determination of the work program for the future and the election of new leadership--all these must be seen and organized with the aim of serving to further strengthen the basic party organization to further revolutionize its life and activity and those of every communist.

During the whole campaign, and also in the meeting to render accounts, every party member must ask himself the question: Do I have the revolutionary qualities of a communist?" Comrade Enver Hoxha instructs that "This question is all the more imperative for the self-direction of the party member who is elected to the leading forum and who must strive to set an example for all other communists and for the working masses" (Enver Hoxha, "Reports and Speeches 1974-1975," p 71).

Starting from these demands that the party makes of every communist, especially of those who are elected to the forum, the Secretariat of the party Central Committee, for this campaign for rendering accounts and elections in the party, instructs that the most tested comrades should be elected to the leadership of basic party organs and organizations, those who are distinguished by their high moral qualities and virtues, by their spirit of sacrifice, by their political and ideological maturity and by their devotion to the cause of the people and of socialism, who are renowned for their abilities in the accomplishment of goals and who know how to utilize progressive thought and the achievements of science effectively and creatively.

12249

CSO: 2100/43

RAKOVSKI MILITARY ACADEMY COMMANDER DESCRIBES ACTIVITIES

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 14 Apr 84 p 2

[Article by Lt Gen Nikola Nedyalkov, commander of the G. S. Rakovski Military Academy: "A Center for the Development of Military Science"]

[Text] The G. S. Rakovski Military Academy, offspring of the 9 September Socialist Revolution, has firmly developed under the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the beneficial influence of Soviet military science. During the historical period of its development it has become a true workshop for the formation of officers' cadres for the Bulgarian People's Army and a center for the development of military science. The coming of age of the academy is closely related to the strengthening of the people's power, the victory of socialism in our country, and the consolidation of the Bulgarian People's Army.

Throughout its development, the academy had to overcome many difficulties and resolve responsible tasks set forth by the party and the Ministry of National Defense. Thanks to the tremendous efforts of its personnel who ever since 9 September 1944 have unreservedly supported the policy of the Bulgarian Communist Party, it has been possible to train within a short period of time highly qualified commanding, political, staff, and engineering cadres entirely loyal to the cause of socialism.

The generals and officers who dedicated themselves to the noble profession of teachers and trainers at the Military Academy feel particularly close to it because it has left a lasting imprint on their lives. The alumni of the academy remember with gratitude their beloved teachers and commanders who all had given of themselves to prepare them as commanders, political and staff personnel, capable of leading their detachments into battle.

The Soviet military specialists played a particularly positive role in the life of the academy. They helped to introduce Soviet military science and Marxist-Leninist theory about war and armies into the teaching and training process of the academy. This helped to improve not only the knowledge of the students, but also their ideological training and mastery of the dialectical and materialistic method. The Soviet specialists largely contributed to raising the teaching process and scientific research to a higher ideological-theoretical and methodological standard. Soviet assistance in providing us with statutes, rules, and various military literature, as well as with the



training and pre-training of our teaching cadres in Soviet military academies, has been of incalculable value.

Now, thanks to the great concern of the party, particularly during the April stage of its development, and thanks to the concern of the Ministry of National Defense, the academy enjoys favorable conditions for fruitful military-pedagogical and scientific research activities. The commanding and faculty personnel have high military-pedagogical and scientific qualifications, exemplify high military virtues, moral, political and administrative qualities and have considerable commanding and teaching experience. The academy has among its staff such officers with many years of teaching experience as Filchev, Yanchev, Bogdanov, B. Nikolov, Stoykov, Markov, Nikhaylov, Kuzmanov, Uzunov, Brayanov, etc.

The number of personnel holding academic degrees and titles has increased considerably. At this time the teaching personnel includes 8 professors, 6 PhD's, 64 lecturers and 110 candidates of science. This fact has a positive influence on the further improvement of the methodological, research and training work of the academy.

Modern weapons and military technology as well as the corresponding new ways and methods of warfare have enhanced the role of scientific leadership in the armed forces. This requires broad military-theoretical studies and calls for a general evaluation of experiences derived from military maneuvers. The faculty personnel participate in the theoretical treatment of the problems arising from scientific and technological progress and the evolution of military craft and then apply their findings in the training of military cadres.

In recent years the academy has been increasingly strengthening its relations with headquarters and detachments. Our instructors participate in the maneuvers conducted by the Bulgarian People's Army. This offers the opportunity to associate theory with practice, to corroborate certain theoretical premises and draw new conclusions as required by military theory and practice.

The bonds between the Military Academy and the Soviet military academies and the academies of the other fraternal socialist countries have become traditional. This allows the academy to exchange experiences in the fields of administration, teaching and methodology, and scientific research.

The activity of the academy is multifaceted. It is not confined to its specific tasks. It maintains broad relations with many social organizations, which is one of the forms of its participation in the social and political life of the country. A number of instructors read lectures not only to military audiences but also to civic organizations, thereby contributing to the military and patriotic education of the population.

Guided by the decisions of the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, by the new theoretical formulations with the practical approach developed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov after the congress, by his lectures to the faculty and students at the Academy for Social Sciences and Public Administration and by

the decisions of the National Party Conference, the academy's personnel are doing their best to improve the quality of all aspects of our work.

We celebrate the patronal day of the G. S. Rakovski Military Academy under the conditions of the constantly deteriorating international situation. The activities of international imperialism force us to maintain at its highest the revolutionary vigilance of the people and the combat readiness of the army. By order of our party we are called upon to work with the highest sense of responsibility for a decisive improvement in quality of the political and specialized training of the teaching and students personnel of the academy.

Several important and urgent tasks derive from the long-term program of the party for improving quality, adopted at the National Conference.

The efforts of the leadership of the academy and its faculty staff from now on should be aimed at aligning the teaching and educational work and the research process with the latest achievements of scientific and technological progress, with the achievements of military theory and practice and with the requirements of modern warfare.

The academy should establish the prerequisites for advanced training. This, above all, calls for a radical improvement of the material and technical base, for a better organization of scientific work and for improvement of teaching, educational and research procedures. The National Party Conference calls on us to implement significant structural changes which will raise to an even higher level the quality of leadership and modernize the existing as well as create new material and technical foundations based on electronics and other modern achievements of scientific and technological progress.

The National Party Conference demands of us that we thoroughly revamp the entire system for the training and pre-training of the faculty staff so as to enable it to teach at high ideological, theoretical, scientific and technical levels. The long-term program states that "from now on it is necessary that all cadres increase their knowledge, develop greater capabilities and possess considerable professional qualifications and creative reserves."

On the eve of the 40th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria and on the patron's day of the academy we proudly declare that we are firmly united around the April policy of the Bulgarian Communist Party and are ready to carry out the responsible duties related to the training and education of officers' cadres for the Bulgarian People's Army.

12653

CSO: 2200/115

# DISPOSAL OF NUCLEAR WASTE FROM REACTOR AT PAKS DISCUSSED

Budapest POLGARI VEDELEM in Hungarian Apr 84 pp 9, 10

[Article by Gabor Tokai: "Dangerous Waste"]

[Excerpt] In Hungary the problem of storing radioactive wastes occurred for the first time in the early 1950s. This is related in part to the starting up of the MTA's [Hungarian Academy of Sciences] Central Physics Research Institute's experimental nuclear reactor and with the start of the isotope production, and in part to the radiation health care experiences gathered when radioactive illuminating paints were used, and the accumulated radioactive wastes. At that time barely more than 10 institutions were using radioactive isotopes. In the beginning the wastes were stored within the facility of the MTA Central Physics Research Institute in storage developed by the institute. Then in 1959 the National Nuclear Energy Commission established an experimental isotope storage facility in the vicinity of Solymar. The MTA Isotope Institute has been keeping record of and following with attention the course and fate of radioactive isotopes ever since the beginning. The collection of wastes was begun by the Capital City KOJAL [Public Health and Medical Clinic for Contagious Diseases] in 1960. Finally this is where the natural and artificial radioactive wastes with half lives of more than 30 days, generated between 1954 and 1976 in this country, were collected and stored. The estimated total activity of wastes accumulated and placed in the experimental isotope cemetery was about 400 TBq (tebabequerel, about 10 kiloCuries) at the time of collection or placement, and occupies a volume of 900 cubic meters. About 80 percent of the waste was of low or medium specific activity, mostly solid materials, packaged primarily in polyethylene bags and metal barrels. The liquid radioactive wastes were placed into storage in plastic cans, the radiating biological materials in aluminum milk cans. Nearly 3,000 sealed radiation sources were also collected.

In the Solymar isotope cemetery the "central crypt" had a capacity of nearly 150 cubic meters, built to receive liquid and solid wastes. In addition to this 277 storage wells were built of prefabricated cement rings and depths of 3, 5 or 8 meters, and 3 pipe wells were built for the placement of sealed radiation sources. The Solymar isotope cemetery was built next to a busy public road on barely one hectare of land, and without protective barriers. It became impossible to expand and improve it, so its fate had to be decided.

In the meanwhile the Puspokszilagy Radioactive Waste Processing and Storage Facility was completed by the end of 1976 and commissioned, within the framework of investment made by the National Nuclear Energy Commission. Under the domestic conditions the safe storage of radioactive wastes is possible practically exclusively only in cement storage bins built in major clay deposits. The location decision was preceded by a wide search and study, taking also into consideration the international recommendations and specifications. The starting point for the planning was that in Hungary there are nearly 250 places of employment using open radioactive radiation sources and isotopes and about 500 using sealed radiation sources. From these we must expect each year 80 cubic meters of solid wastes and 50 cubic meters of radioactive contamination along with 10 cubic meters of contaminated water concentrate which must be collected, processed and finally stored. The planning did not include storage of radioactive waste from nuclear power plants in the Puspokszilagy isotope cemetery. Since then--though temporarily--they also accept waste from the nuclear power plant.

The decision to close the isotope cemetery at Solymer was made in 1978 and relocation of the wastes to the Puspokszilagy isotope cemetery began after due preparations in 1979, then was completed in 1980. A real "military operation plan" was prepared to open up the storage vaults and wells, recover the materials, repackage the wastes and carry out the transportation, "radiation proofing" the trip and permanent placement into the new storage units. The professionals and trade technicians of civil defense also participated in the preparation and execution of this unprecedented "maneuver." The recovery and relocation of extremely dangerous wastes, closing down the isotope cemetery took place without any extraordinary events.

In the Puspokszilagy isotope cemetery the processing of radioactive wastes--with the processes already described above--is done by embedding them into cement and bitumen, and filling the space created when solid wastes are placed, with cement mortar. The liquid waste contaminated with radioactive isotopes is used for this operation. In some cases the chemical waste water processing technology is supplemented with the ion exchange procedure. The purified water is placed into a reinforced concrete water collection tank and with increased control, it is diluted with rain water and discharged into the Szilagy creek.

In the Puspokszilagy isotope cemetery the handling, processing and placement of radioactive wastes in each phase takes place in a strict technological order, under continuous control and under strictest security. In the interest of protecting the environment a separate, well equipped control laboratory each year examines about 1,300 samples from the environment--soil, vegetation, vegetables, fruit, milk, water, air and others. So far they have not noticed anything out of the ordinary except for radio activity in the air resulting from atmospheric nuclear explosions, "dry fallout" and rain "washout," which one of the radiological measuring stations of civil defense handles as a measurement task within the routine of its everyday activity.

The handling, partial processing and temporary storage of nuclear power plant radioactive waste generated during the operation of the Paks Nuclear Power Plant is done on site [in Paks], and temporarily a portion of the "treated" wastes is transferred to the Puspokszilagy isotope cemetery for permanent placement. The location has already been designated--in Baranya county, in the vicinity of Feked and Vemend--where the nuclear power plant's isotope cemetery will be built in the near future to receive the nuclear power plant's radioactive wastes.

It is reassuring that the placement of radioactive wastes was and is being handled in our country with such circumspection and in such a controlled manner. For the time being we have no problems in this area.

8584

CSO: 2500/362

SIGNIFICANT DISCRIMINATION IN WAGE DISTRIBUTIONS

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 May 84 p 5

[Article by Laszlo Karcagi: "Wages and Differences"]

[Text] Aniko and Andrea are twins, 17 years old, female textile workers. They enter, awestruck, the office of the mill director. The textile mill's infernal noise almost shoves them through the door. They sit down gracefully on the arranged chairs. They keep pulling their smocks politely down to their bony knees. In point of fact they are already full-fledged women, but without their noticing it, during the conversation, their legs swing freely under the chairs.

"Still children," Janos Teglas, head of the factory section, says afterwards. "As soon as they finished school, we put them on sixteen machines. We should give them a rest from time to time, but it can't be done; workers are scarce."

Sandor Tamasits, director of the textile mill, says:

"A few years ago, when the girls worked in a system not with sixteen but only eight machines, we obtained a pedometer because we were curious to know how much a female textile worker walked in one shift. At that time it came out to 32 kilometers."

I wonder how much it would be now?

Beginners and the Advanced

In the Budaflax textile mill of Gyor the American business firm Werner put into effect the entire work setup, as a result of which the number of power looms operated by one worker increased from ten to sixteen on the SZTB power looms and from eight to twelve on the other types. An aptitude test preceded the setup, so that those were selected who are qualified for work which requires the greatest dexterity, attentiveness and coordinative skill. The internal interest was also reorganized so that the machine adjusters, maintenance workers and ancillary crew are also financially interested in the increase of the output of the female textile workers, and the differences arising from the qualitative change of raw material were determined.

Allow me to set out in detail the nature of the incentive system. It is a fact that since the girls and the women work under the same conditions and circumstances in the textile mill, their differences in output stem from dissimilarity in their individual skills, their abilities and their diligence. And since their wages are in direct proportion to their output, the wages here very clearly express the differences in completed work. The average hourly wage based on output varies between 17 and 28 forints in the mill.

Factory section leader Teglas explains that a difference greater than this is not possible. There would not be any applicants for this extremely hard work at an hourly wage of less than 17 forints. But still the ultimate reason is that the mill environment does not for long accept an output lower than this, for--as we mentioned--by and large the wages of the other workers depend on the toil of the female textile laborers.

Nor can the tempo corresponding to the maximum wage be increased any longer, because somewhere here is the upper limit of human productivity. Quality would deteriorate in work done faster than this, and wages would decrease correspondingly. The organizers, namely, thought of this and made compensation dependent on quality, too.

Aniko and Andrea--since they are still beginners--belong to the textile mill's workers with lowest earnings. Their monthly pay is around 3300-3400 forints. As a rule, at the end of the month Aniko takes home one or two hundred forints more than her twin sister.

Mrs Laszlo Fekete has been a textile worker for 23 years, long enough to work on three shifts. Her average hourly wage exceeds 28 forints. In the 1960s she handled four power looms, later eight, then ten and now finally she runs sixteen. During that time the machine types have changed, of course, but there is much more work today than there was twenty years ago.

"It is typical," says Mrs Fekete, "that in the economic work collectives here production is just 10 percent greater than in the primary worktime. This surplus results only from the fact that the master workers join in to weave."

#### No Longer Locker Money

The difference between the lowest and the highest hourly wage in the textile mill, supplemented by overtime and various bonuses, is changing so that the highest monthly pay is twice the lowest. Within a factory and a trade this properly characterizes the difference between attainable work outputs.

In other places, where it is not possible to measure so exactly human performance, the differences between the lowest and highest paid groups are generally greater. In the assembly department for middle-sized machines at the Ganz Electrical Works, for example, a fourfold difference in earnings occurs among skilled assembly workers.

Machine attendants Laszlo Kiraly and Laszlo Szommer finished school this autumn; they earn 3,400 forints. Group leader Lajos Dunai says that a majority of the group's workers are also members of an economic work collective. When they have work in the VGMK [economic work collective] (it happens, namely, that some months there is none), they perform 70-80 extra hours of labor. The two youths are not in the VGMK, and for this reason their income is only a fraction of the others'. Laszlo Szommer is not inclined to do extra work. Laszlo Kiraly, however, is completing secondary school through a correspondence course; therefore, he usually gets up at 4 in the morning and arrives home at 11 at night, so that he does not have time for extra work.

We have no way of judging whether the fourfold difference in income which has evolved in the factory is fair or not. (The large difference comes into being from the accumulation of basic hourly wages, output percentages, various bonuses, overtime and income obtained from the VGMK). We mention it merely because it is believed in a fairly wide circle that differentiation of income is not sufficiently great in Hungarian factories nowadays. It is not this way everywhere, especially not where work is being standardized. If, however, comparatively large income differences exist within a factory and a trade, it is not uninteresting to investigate where they originate.

It is very likely that there are not always true differences in output behind differences in income. The measurement of output--among other things--is not precise. For example, Bela Gyurki has been a lathe operator for 37 years at the Ganz Electrical Works (he has worked on the same machine for the last twenty years). His norm has been raised at least 5 percent every year during this time (at the beginning of this year, for example, it was suddenly upped 18 percent); in spite of this he surpasses the current norm by 30 percent every month.

Nor does he understand exactly how this is possible, although he remembers at one time he had locker money; now, however, he does not. (The essential thing about locker money is that the worker--since it is not worth performing more than 130 percent--sets aside his work authorization vouchers in his locker for the following month and then gives an account of them). To all this we add: among the iron industry trades it is perhaps possible to determine with the greatest objectivity the output of lathe operators.

Proof of the inexactitude of output measurement and reckoning is the fact that in iron industry enterprises the production fluctuates extraordinarily in the various periods of the year; at the beginning of the year it is 30-40 percent lower on the average than at the end of the year. In an interesting way, however, this fluctuation does not appear at all, or just barely, in wages which rest on individual work performances; on the whole, these are uniform in every month of the year.

An entire series of workshop-sociology assessments reveals the reasons for this peculiarity. The main point is that since management in general does not know how to provide work uniformly, and since the primary demand of the workers is that their pay be uniform for the most part, for this reason



in most places output percentages, overtime, various bonuses, premiums and awards are juggled until "everything is going well."

That is to say, everything is still not going well, because there are losers, too.

#### Less Work for More Pay?

The enterprise DIGEP [Diosgyor Machine Factory] instructed its young sociologist Zoltan Farkas to investigate why so many young skilled workers, starting their careers, were leaving one of the factory units. An assessment was prepared, and the sociology profession was taken aback by its results.

"In the long run the adaptability of those beginning their careers depends on whether they are able to attain an adequate income with reasonable effort," explains Zoltan Farkas. "This has significance especially where, for the most part, the output accounted for by the individual determines income. The intrafactory allotment of work assignments and work tools decides, however, how much output and thereby how much income it is possible to attain with a certain work investment."

In the metal-cutting factory under scrutiny, for example, the sociologist observed that in general the older workers did the jobs for which it was easier to fulfill the norm. And the younger the skilled worker, the more assignments he gets with stricter norms. Over and above this discriminatory allotment of better- and worse-paying jobs, it also came to light that there were more obstacles in the work supplies of younger skilled workers, or those starting their careers. The reason for this is that, in the first place, they do not get the frequently recurring and already "tested" jobs; their assignments change more often.

It turned out that in most cases the young ones worked with machines in worse conditions--and their tool gear was much skimpier--than those of the older skilled workers. For a part of the workers the disadvantages pile up, for the other part, however, the advantages accumulate, so that from time to time surprisingly low or surprisingly high earnings occur among workers of the same trade in the same factory.

"The pay of the group of workers earning the most is nearly sixfold that of the wage earners making the least money," says Zoltan Farkas.

I would gladly take a look around the scene of the assessment, but the sociologist is not willing to disclose in which factory he made the investigations, because on the one hand, according to him, it is not the concrete place but rather the phenomenon itself which is interesting. Furthermore, he has toiled for years to gain the trust and frankness--indispensable for sociological work--of the enterprise's workers and directors. He does not intend to lose this by issuing to the public his subjects of investigation. (This, by the way, is not the custom in sociological literature).

"The inequalities observable in the distribution of work assignments and tools have this result: the young workers in a more disadvantageous position attain less output with the same amount of work," says the sociologist. "Thus the income differences of the younger and the older workers are excessive and do not correspond to the differences in completed work. Those beginning their careers are conscious of this injustice, and they therefore lose interest in the work here very soon and try their hand somewhere else."

It would, of course, be a mistake to generalize the conclusions of the investigation of Zoltan Farkas; he, too, incidentally, cautions against that. Such a thing can occur where the workforce supply can be described as relatively good, and where the composition of the machine stock, the complexity and magnitude of the products, and the groundlessness of the work norms make this possible. These incidents are not general, but they are typical.

#### Broom and Oilcan

While going through the factories, I also looked to see here and there what differences there were, for example, in the tool supplies. It is possible to observe almost everywhere that while the supply of the beginning lathe operators is no more than an oilcan, a broom and four or five knives, there is a veritable treasure house of accumulated tools in the lockers of individual older skilled workers; some of them have amassed 300 or 400.

It is no accident that the output of the metal cutters just out of vocational school is generally about 50-70 percent everywhere in the first few years, although earlier in the apprentice workshop for a long time they "made" the adult norm. It is obvious that what has been related above plays a part in the reasons for this decline.

It would be a serious error to narrow down the above conclusions into some kind of conflict of generations. It is not a question of this. The reason for the differences is that one of the workers, by means of his greater experience, his local knowledge and chiefly his connections, knows how to assert his own interests inside the factory better than the beginner, whether he is older or young. All this is natural; it is preferable to place trust in the older workers, they have already proven themselves.

The trouble begins when the allotment of material goods according to work passes into the allotment of work according to material goods, i.e., those who are earning good money anyway get the easier job, those who are earning little, however, get the more difficult job.

A frequently proclaimed watchword: equal pay for equal work. But if emphasis is placed only on equal pay, and if the requirement of equal work is forgotten, then a mockery is made of the sound principle, and very great damage is caused by it.

It is a fine thing that in the DIGEP no pains were spared for the outlined investigations, because they clearly understood some important tasks. It is to be hoped that their example will also be followed elsewhere.

12327

CSO: 2500/351

CHRISTIAN PSYCHOLOGIST DISCUSSES SOCIAL, FAMILY PROBLEMS

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 13 May 84 p 2

[Interview with psychologist Endre Gyokossy by Sandor Toth: "We Should Show Clear Paths"; date and place not given]

[Excerpt] Endre Gyokossy, Reformed pastor and psychologist, is active in psychiatric counseling in addition to his church duties. After graduating in theology, he received a Ph.D. in educational psychology, continuing with his psychological studies in Basel where he also got married. He was the leading pastor of a church in Budapest for 4 decades. For a long time he was a lecturer of theology and, as a research professor at the Reformed Seminary and a member of the Hungarian Psychiatric Society, has given lectures for years at the Psychiatric Clinic. He publishes a lot. His most popular titles include "It Is Not Good to Be Alone" (he wrote the part on marriage psychology) and "On Ourselves to Ourselves" (a handbook of self-consciousness). This year will see the 6th edition of the former and the 4th, enlarged, edition of the latter. The title of his book on family and child psychology is "Together in Love." Its 3rd edition is expected to come out in 1985. His theological texts are also widely used and known. (E.g., "Introduction to Pastoral Psychology," "Introduction to Paracletic Mental Health.")

[Question] With whom do you primarily deal with, Professor?

[Answer] Mainly with marriage problems, family problems, with people whose relationship with God, with themselves, with the world and with their fellow men has deteriorated. My psychiatric credo is: being healthy means a healthy relationship in all 4 directions, for the deterioration of any one of these relationships may affect the others as well. In short, I deal with people with bad relationships and in trouble. More and more young people are among them.

[Question] It is apparent to you that part of the new generation is unfamiliar with the concept of sin and has no sense of guilt?

[Answer] They speak much rather of a general ill-feeling and a kind of inner emptiness. Many of them are hesitating and insecure. No doubt, they do not find the answers easily, for many old "barriers" have disappeared. The Mosaic defense gates (for the Ten Commandments are for our benefit, not for our

annoyance) have been demolished. When one or another young person (quite a number of them) is being run over by speeding life, he will only wonder--if he survives the crash. He does not know what happened to him, for the pillars of orientation, and most of the pillar persons, have also disappeared. Each of the remaining ones points at a different direction. I do not think that their sense of guilt should be increased; what they need is clear directions. But today's youth has become cautious and even suspicious, with complete justification. They pay attention only to people who live an exemplary life and follow the Way. The way which is narrow and straight.

[Question] Do you have any good experience with the new generation?

[Answer] Yes. The sexpllosion, i.e., sex explosion, of the 1950's appears to be passing, together with its consequences. In the West, there is much literature on this. More and more young people yearn and look nostalgically for pure love. I see occasionally that this "new wave" came close to us as well and I believe that it will reach us eventually. A yearning for purity and love.

[Question] Professor, what would you say about the believers' sense of guilt?

[Answer] More and more of them are anguished and neurotic. In theological terminology, they are the sinners with a guilt complex who find it useless to hear in our churches (although they are asking for it) that they have absolution for their sins. The Lord has mercy but his absolution they cannot accept and they cannot forgive themselves. They are unaware that, perhaps subconsciously, with this hidden arrogance, they put themselves above God. Today's homo Christianus seems to lack humility and joy. On the other hand, our kowtowing and wretched agony is repulsive, not attractive.

[Question] How could our Christianity today be more attractive?

[Answer] We should not scream about the law but should instead have more joy in our mission and should live more according to the Scriptures. Christianity is not only a religion but also a way of life.

[Question] Thus our religion should become more and more a way of life....

[Answer] We should show a more apostolic and attractive life. Let me add as a pastor and psychologist that we should consider mental "cleanliness" when dealing with our fellow men's soul (which is a must) as seriously as a surgeon does before and after operating in order not to infect but to heal.

[Question] What is this infection?

[Answer] We may be priests, pastors or serving laymen, we constantly project our deepest being which is often beyond control. This happens when we "recognize" our own unsolved problems and sins in the other person. He is the bad one, not I; he is at fault, not I. This is why self-knowledge, "self-cleansing" and expert mental guidance is needed. Every respectable psychologist

must have a supervisor, an experienced advisor, without whom he cannot work. This is unfortunately not the case with us, servants of the church.

[Question] Can we speak only of a negative projection?

[Answer] There is also healing and purifying projection. Jesus himself recognized--in the divine purity--the saint in Maria Magdalene, Matthew the apostle in Levy the publican, and consequently that is what they became. I could go on with the list. Even the vicinity of a pure person purifies. It is not accidental that we speak of repulsively sinister characters and attractively radiant people. This is why I emphasize the need for regular mental "purification" in prayer, in adoration, in silence, in meditation and in self-inquiry. If I neglect these, I will get in trouble right away and will cause confusion instead of giving help.

[Question] Did you also mention self-purification?

[Answer] There is also a secondary infection, that is why our service is not without danger. As every garbage can may have some garbage left in the bottom after emptying which will soon have a foul smell, if our self-purification is not thorough, then we are also in danger; for our service resembles in some ways this kind of "garbage collection."

[Question] What are you specifically thinking of?

[Answer] He who speaks with a depressed man for hours with caring love but without an adequate defense, may be greatly affected by his partner. Or if the depressed mood of the counseled person changes to maniac enthusiasm accompanied by fast speech and an urge to confess (as it frequently happens) and if the counselor does not recognize it as a psychic phenomenon but things of it as, for instance, charismatic fulfillment of the soul," then he himself may be affected by it--in psychological terminology, he will be psychologically infected. This is why we must be much more familiar with the phenomena of the human soul; we must be able to differentiate between pneumatic effects coming from above and the psychic and sickly phenomena coming from below. But we may also acquire our partner's aggressiveness without understanding why we became tense, why we ourselves became aggressive. This is why we must know about pastoral psychology, this is why we must constantly "purify" ourselves before God.

[Question] Why are there today so many anxious and neurotic children?

[Answer] Some of them grow up in a "society without fathers." Many fathers, compelled to earn money, are absent for 6 days and unreachable on the 7th day. They try to balance this, with tension and a guilt complex, by more weekly allowance, gifts and indulgence. But the absence of the father and a healthy authority makes the child insecure and thus aggressive. If the child is a boy, he cannot even have an adequate father model. Most mothers, too, are being ground up between work and family, children and self-fulfillment. Their inner tension is transferred to the child as if through an umbilical chord. And if, in addition, the child is an only child, it will be, with the

words of Dendre Czeizel, even more in a "disadvantaged situation" than children of larger families. What is the only child left with? The television set and the tape recorder. But in this way, constantly surrounded by a phalanx of pictures and sounds, it slowly (or perhaps not so slowly) becomes endangered by audio and video idiotism: it cannot sleep well, cannot pay attention in school, its performance is getting worse and worse, and I could go on. I think the church should now intensively concentrate on the family, giving more intensive care for mentally handicapped family members. This is also a communal task society can, and does, expect from us.

[Question] I would have more questions, perhaps we will continue some other time. Thank you for the interview.

[Answer] I also thank you for your questions and send my greetings to the readers of the UJ EMBER with ecumenical love.

9414

CSO: 2500/356

PZPR NATIONAL DELEGATE CONFERENCE EVALUATED

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 4, Apr 84 pp 5-12

[Article: "After the National PZPR Delegate Conference: Behind Us and Ahead of Us"]

[Text] The National Delegate Conference was held 32 months after the Ninth Extraordinary Congress. It was held in the same auditorium, with the delegate composition changed somewhat by political events. The persons and the courses of action have been subjected to rigorous examination in practice.

The motto guiding the proceedings of the Ninth Congress was: "Socialism must be defended, as must the independence of Poland." In those tension-packed days this was the cardinal obligation of the party; it has been fulfilled.

In this connection the first secretary of the Central Committee in his report specified what the main obligation now consists of: acting in such a way during the second half of the term that it will be possible to say at the 10th Congress that "we have strengthened socialism just as we have strengthened the independence of Poland." We have won and elaborated the prerequisites, the initial conditions, which make it possible to go over to the offensive on an ever broader front, to multiply the feats performed, and lengthen our pace in the direction assigned by the Ninth Congress.

As in frozen frame of a moving picture, the conference presented the complex picture of the situation at mid-term. There was no pyrotechnics of "propaganda of success," assessments making allowance for future expansion, no signs of somnolence, and no symptoms of complacency. Harsh realism, keen vision both of affairs and of men, and criticism aimed against indolence and impotence must be the rule of the day.

To underestimate what has been gained and developed would mean to commit the error of disabling pessimism. To overestimate it would be an error of equally harmful whitewashing. Only realistic analysis can lead to the right conclusions and elaboration of suitable guidelines for action. From this viewpoint the conference assessed what is behind us.

During the days of the Ninth Congress the party, overwhelmed by the weight of errors and distortions, looked for ways of rescuing and restoring the Republic



in an increasingly dangerous and complicated situation. Today it is moving forward, legitimizing itself through critical and open self-evaluation and through the gains made by carrying out the suggestions resulting from this evaluation.

At that time the class enemy was on the offensive, abetted in all ways by imperialism, which wants a Poland removed from the system of its international allies, a Poland poor, in upheaval, cut off from socialism and impelled into the chaos of confrontation. Today that enemy, although yielding ground only grudgingly, has been put on the defensive. Rabble-rousing slogans are no longer given a hearing.

Lack of order and anarchy, strike frenzy, and destructive political fever were spreading in the country at the time. Now normalization, peace, and social harmony are coming to prevail, civil discipline is being gradually strengthened, and social activity is being revived.

At that time economic breakdown was speeding up, the crisis was becoming more acute, the pace of production was slowing down, and the material foundations of national existence, security of food supply, and the basic economic relationships were threatened. Today we are gradually, laboriously emerging from the crisis, the pace of production is improving, and protection of worker interests is becoming more and more effective.

At the time there was a high wave of provocative accusations leveled at the party, the state, and the system charging inability to restore Polish life to health from its ills and with disinclination to carry out reforms. Today the creation of the preconditions for socialist renaissance has reached an advanced stage. It comprises an entire array of actions, which are being put into practice widely, if unevenly.

Today there is no problem of "disinclination to carry out reforms." There is the problem of the soundness and fruitfulness of the reforms and of reinforcing their socialist nature. Today there is no problem with the ability of the party to bring about a renaissance. There is the problem of the pace and range of its renaissance and its perceptibility. It is in our hands.

The resolution of the conference states that "the Central Committee is working in accordance with the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress, and is acting in the spirit of socialist renaissance, that of strengthening socialism in Poland." Emphasis was placed on the fruitfulness of instituting martial law. It prevented civil war, put an end to anarchy and ruination of the economy, and ensured safety for citizens and the socialist state. It was abolished just as soon as the conditions for its abolition arose. This truth must not be forgotten. The resolute steps taken in the face of higher need proved to be an effective defense of the prospects of reform, agreement among patriotic forces, and development of an independent union movement in pro-socialist form, independently of the administration. The main direction of the process being guided by the party, it was stressed by the conference, is protection against repetition of the errors and distortions before August 1980 and of antisocialist destruction before December 1981.

The threats to constitutional harmony of the system in Poland were at the same time threats to peace in Europe. They carried with them the danger of the change dreamed of by imperialist headquarters, change of the "Polish question" into a means of weakening the position of socialism on a broad, international scale. A general assessment of these problems, by now successfully resolved, found expression in the "Appeal in the Cause of Defense of Peace" and the "Message to All Communist and Worker Parties." In its assessment of the implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Congress, the conference, unanimously approving the international activities of the Central Committee, stated that "they conform to the principles adopted in the resolutions of the Ninth Congress. We wish to express our gratitude to our brother parties and especially to the CPSU, for understanding our difficulties and for giving aid in overcoming them. Deepening all-round cooperation with the socialist countries and increasing the strength and cohesion of the socialist community constitute the permanent foundation of our policy."

The actions and results of great importance thus justify the highest approval expressed by the conference for Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski and its full support for his further actions and for the collective activities of the leading organs of the party in the service of the people, Poland, and socialism.

We are taking the socialist path of renaissance. It has acquired clearcut meaning, and its assumptions have been freed from delusions and insinuations. Its directions have been made subordinate to the twofold principle which always prevails, especially during stormy, complex periods. First of all, one must act in a principled manner, in accordance with the recommendations of Marxism-Leninism. Old diseases cannot be cured by infection with new ones. Secondly, it is necessary to act creatively, taking into account the actual alignment of forces, on the basis of thorough reconnaissance of the field of battle and labor. The directives of our ideology are carried out not in the abstract but by utilizing the potential and overcoming the resistance present in the real substance of life and in the social consciousness.

The party is yielding nothing of the gains of 40 years of socialist transformations. It is resolved to protect and consolidate what has been achieved. It will at the same time uncompromisingly eliminate what is bad and reform what is outmoded.

We must be precise in using the concepts of "old" and "new" and "struggle between the new and the old." Not all that is old has lost its luster. But also that which is old and outmoded and harmful does not readily yield; it exhibits a tendency to perpetuate itself. But whatever is new and essential for the regeneration of our strength is generated and makes its way with difficulty through the barriers of inertia and conservatism. It needs support, care, and dissemination.

The National Delegate Conference took a penetrating look at the complexity of this process. The party viewpoint is clear. It will not allow erosion and destruction of any of the values making up the accomplishments of socialist construction to this point, on the pretext of vaguely understood renaissance. And it will not permit rehabilitation or restoration of form or content in

conflict with the needs of creative development of this process, under cover of so-called adherence to principle.

As regards internal party life this entails the obligation of making certain, within the framework of indispensable exchange of opinions, the framework of statutorily authorized discussions and defense of one's own convictions, to prevent repetition of ideological sloppiness and recurrence of the unreasoning pursuit of specious innovations on the one hand, and conservative negation of justified changes on the other. As regards the substance and method of exercise of the leading role of the party in society, the state, and the economy, this implies the requirement of purification and reform activities opposing both tendencies to go beyond the bounds of the system and needlessly to narrow these limits.

The slogan "socialism yes, distortions no" remains as topical as ever. It is served by the strategy of socialist renewal, understanding, struggle, and reform. The role of motive force in this process can be played only by a party faithful to its traditions and principles. In this sense it has remained the same. At the same time, it is a force obstinately modifying the substance and methods of its action. In this sense it has not remained the same.

This is what we have learned along the way between the Ninth Congress and the National Delegate Conference, not in a schoolroom, but in inquiries and revaluations, in states of indecision, and in the struggles imposed by the circumstances, in battle and work, under the close watch of millions of eyes. But we have not awarded ourselves, and history has not yet awarded us, certificates attesting that we have completed this learning process. But along the way we have passed more than one test. We can say this after sober, critical review of the period from August 1980, from the Ninth Congress, from the December 1981 decision, and from the seventh and following Central Committee sessions.

The party has passed a test fully comparable to the test it underwent during the first and most difficult years of People's Poland. It faced the fire of powerful enemies and stood up under their massed attack. It regrouped its forces and pushed ahead despite weaknesses and losses. It is gaining far better knowledge of reality. It is ridding itself of delusions, faith in the automatic power of words, and appeals. It is studying the dialectics of struggle and agreement. It is more fully aware of the difficult dilemmas and dictates of its time. Being seasoned and purifying itself, the party has retained its dedicated nucleus. It is learning to assert its working class character in deeds rather than in declarations. In a situation in which life is so difficult it has nothing to give and so much not make promises but must work obstinately day after day to gain the confidence of the workers and of society.

Of inestimable importance in this context are rejection of smugness and official optimism, persistent eradication of all forms of escapism and avoidance of control and criticism by the toiling masses, effort to keep in as close touch as possible with the affairs of workers, introduction of openness into political life, shifting to emphasis in party work to the front line, that is,

the basic organizations, and regeneration of intellectual activities and ideological educational work.

This purpose is served by institution of the Leninist principles of democratic centralism, statutory standards nurtured in the creative stream of general party discussion. The party needs internal harmony, internal order. We are obstinately creating it. It is a new harmony and order. It has nothing to do with the artificiality of a "monolith" stage-managed from above, a situation of mechanical rubberstamping and voting, the immunity of "petty chiefs," or the chaos of a debating club, the fever of immature ideas and flood of mutual accusations, or paralysis of accomplishment.

The party is being regenerated. It is a complicated, uneven process, which in many spheres and in many places has just begun. The conference spared no words of criticism and self-criticism aimed at what is obstructing and hampering the process of bringing party reality closer to the Leninist model.

A loud voice was raised, among other things, to point out the threat of recurrence of the long-standing practice of giving preemptory commands, the peculiar euphoria of being in charge, lack of modesty and civilized manners, lowering of moral standards, and haughtiness and callousness. Also cited by name was the illness of indifference, as being incompatible with what is expected from the party member by the workers, who want this member constantly to demonstrate conformity of his behavior with his words. We have to struggle every day to make certain that the attitude and operation of the party will meet the requirements of the Statute, Leninist principles, and the line of the Ninth Congress.

As the party will be, so will be Poland. This laconic statement of the Ninth Congress derives directly from the leading and guiding role of the PZPR. It at once defines the deepest essence of its status of servant of the working class, the people, and socialism. We are not building it alone, but in order for millions of people to build it together with us, we must every day and everywhere demonstrate qualities which will gain us confidence and support.

The conference dealt thoroughly with the main directions of further struggle to change the party, understood not as a bronze monument or huge anonymous entity, into an organization with more than 2 million people with names and faces and mature enough to play the role which their party cards call upon them to play. There are at the same time the chief planes of ideological support, not that put on display at meetings or conferences and left in the cloakroom when the statutory proceedings have ended and ordinary life begins, but the support that is demonstrated on work days. It is a question of ideological support defining the personality of a man who has voluntarily opted for the privilege of toiling for the party, a personality exhibited not just in a small group, among those already persuaded, but in all his actions, in his work and in his behavior in society. It is shown in the force of convictions, the courage to express opinions openly, in opposition through the quality of one's work, regardless of occupation and rank, to an atmosphere of defeatism and carelessness, in readiness to give of oneself what is needed by the collective, the surroundings, in short by people, with absolutely clean

hands, since only such hands can effectively cope with the evil of which there is much about, in the courage to oppose evil also at the cost of personal advantage, for the sake of peace, without waiting for conflicts to resolve themselves. There is no demand for deeds beyond human capacity, but there is the requirement that the party member perform deeds confirming his membership in a leading and advancing organization.

Ideological support as thus conceived is in our party sound historical, political, economic, and social knowledge; it is familiarity with the party position and the sources of this position in all questions of importance to the workers. The broad group of party activists, the basic organizations determining the quality of the party, require heavy ideological reinforcement. This is the important role of the ideological front, the place of training. It is still the weak side of party work. It should become the mainspring of such work.

There are still various signs of lack of ideological and political self-control, confusion, susceptibility to error, and sterile conceptions. This is partly the heritage of many years of weakness in ideological work. In part it is a legacy of the stormy period of high emotions and of the frequently spontaneous revaluations of the period after August. Even today there is the danger of bending under the pressure of foreign influences and of the infiltration of these influences.

The party is operating under complex sociopolitical conditions, in a system of open circulation of information. Hence it must have a better knowledge of the reasons for decisions and must constantly have available to it complete, comprehensive information on current ideological, political, and socioeconomic problems.

The exertion of influence on a society in which there is a conflict of different ideological and philosophical views necessitates aggressive participation in discussions taking place, convincing presentation of the creative, Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, and a polemic approach to hostile and foreign tendencies.

We have more arguments than we can use every day. There is no shortage of elaborate statements which yield only little benefit. Part of the dialog in which we engage avoids human interests, doubts, and questions. Misleading statements are not rare. Nor is there any shortage of simplifications irritating to the listener. There is too little participation in discussions by scientists and journalists representing the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint. As a result, obviously erroneous views frequently do not meet with persuasive refutation.

As the opponent is forced from the political plane, the controversy over social consciousness is shifting more and more to the ideological plane, to the sphere of disputes about values. We have only begun to carry out the resolutions of the 12th and 13th plenums, which stressed that the quality of party actions will to an increasing extent determine the intellectual factor: accurate diagnosis of the situation, skill in predicting, and creation in the

party of a dynamic intellectual front joining adherence to principles to a truly creative approach.

The conference talked about the way things are, in the language of facts and truth of often bitter and painful life. It also talked about how things should be and must be, but not in the sense of missionary appeals and beautiful dreams, but in the sense of tasks to be done. The party of Lenin does not coax people into its class with promises and is not lavish with promises. It must not lag behind, humble itself in the face of spontaneity, or succumb to demagoguery. But it must also not isolate itself from the realities of the life, thought, states of mind, and needs of workers. If there is a recurrence of one tendency or another, we will fight it steadfastly and unyieldingly. There are still many manifestations of intellectual confusion, lack of resistance to alien slogans, and a proneness to transient enthusiasm. And there is a great deal of sloganeering and bandying of words without regard to whether they hit their mark, convince, and win.

The materials adopted by the conference--the declaration "What are we fighting for and where are we headed?" and the materials for discussion of the party program--are a response to the ever more keenly felt need for broadening the perspective of thought and action of the activists, of the entire party, and of the forces allied with us in the effort to overcome difficulties and to make further progress toward socialism.

Over the last 32 months we have won and extended the possibility of breaking out of the bondage of routine tasks measured in months, weeks, and often days. In the sequence "yesterday, today, and tomorrow" natural to the party we can now make a significant shift of emphasis. "Yesterday" is gradually coming to an end; it has been evaluated and summed up. We remember and will not forget, but we need not constantly look behind us. "Today" is difficult and complex. We must remain in it and watch where we step in order to avoid obstacles. But while remaining firmly on the ground, we have the obligation of going to work in earnest on "tomorrow." Elaboration of the long-term party program is an undertaking entailing the highest level of responsibility and large-scale difficulty. Such documents have the highest rank in the traditions of the international communist movement and among the works expressing Marxist-Leninist thought. The transition from the current situation to the desired ever higher and more mature phases of socialist development require thorough studies, all-round comparison of plans with Polish and international experience, and combination of harsh realism with boldness of thought and breadth of imagination.

It is a fact that in its 35 years of activity our party has not drawn up a program. The declaration adopted at the First Congress has long since ceased to perform this function. Its statements have been left behind by the times. The extent to which this has affected the circumstances stressed by the conference that we are still in the throes of a transitional period, in a relatively early stage of socialist construction, is something to ponder. Side by side with completion of the foundations of socialism in many spheres there are areas of backwardness. Egregiously premature proclamation of entry into the stage of construction of "developed socialist society" has failed to

provide impetus either for comprehensive definition of the current stage of the dialectical process of transformations in the direction of socialism or for proper determination of its long-range, strategic directions.

The gravity of the party program and the heavy responsibility for its proper configuration demand that we avoid superficiality and haste. Elaboration of the program, which will be presented to the 10th Congress of the PZPR, will be preceded by a number of analyses and syntheses and by protracted discussion. In view of its role as the theoretical and political organ of the PZPR Central Committee, *NOWE DROGI* will open its pages wide to this discussion.

The materials presented to the conference, which will become the point of departure for the discussion, contain many weighty questions. They are not exclusively in the category of theoretical questions. Their gravity, urgency, and severity are determined by present-day needs and by practical life; this has been clearly reflected in the plenary discussion and in the proceedings of the problem groups of the conference.

This is true in particular of the problems associated with strengthening the working class nature of the party and its policy, and of its links to its parent class. We have already made significant progress on this fundamental plane. But this is only a beginning; many problems remain to be solved and many questions are still waiting for a fundamental answer. An essential step will be taken by the announced plenary meeting of the Central Committee devoted to working class problems.

Closely allied with it is application of the structural system of social justice. The weaknesses and distortions in this sphere have played a particular role as causes of the crisis now being overcome. Assurance of persistent and consistent satisfaction of this programmatic requirement of socialism is one of the cardinal prerequisites for placing the country permanently on a stable course. There are still many offenses in practice in this area, and many vague points and misunderstandings. Much pressure is exerted both by class alien concepts opposed to social justice and by reflections of primitive egalitarianism and ordinary demagoguery. The essence of socialist justice is the principle "to each according to his work." On this point it is most closely linked to social and economic practice, to political life and the activities of the state, to the authenticity of various forms of democracy, and to the wage system and personnel policy.

We believe that the questions outlined above should be widely and meaningfully reflected in the discussion of the PZPR program in the pages of our journal.

In these reflections following the PZPR National Delegate Conference the main subject of discussion has been the party. The party is not an end in itself and for itself; it rather is a motive force and steering mechanism. Its leadership and service are gauged by the effects of socialist development of society and the country. It is precisely persistent improvement in the condition of the party that is an essential requirement for performance of the eight tasks mentioned in the Politburo report by General Wojciech Jaruzelski:

"The party's plowing is not beginning on fallow land. But it still has a great amount of heavy labor to perform. The tasks facing us are enormous ones.

"The first task is that of definitely overcoming the economic crisis, surmounting the shortages, the monotony, and the cares of everyday life, and of consolidating and developing the prerequisites for further development.

"The second task is that of fully rebuilding and carefully preserving the links between the party and the working class and the workers, of being the foremost guardian of social justice.

"The third task is that of strengthening the socialist state, its internal and external security, law and order, and discipline, and of combating all evil.

"The fourth task is that of steadfastly following the course of socialist reforms in the economy, and in state and public life and of deepening their democratic and humanist content.

"The fifth task is that of developing and strengthening national understanding.

"The sixth task is that of shifting to the offensive along the entire front, of capturing new areas of social awareness, especially among the younger generation.

"The seventh task is that of achieving significant progress in science, education, and culture.

"The eighth task is that of strengthening the position of Poland in the socialist community, deepening friendship with the Soviet Union, and being an active participant in the struggle for peace and coexistence and international cooperation."

The value of the proceedings and resolutions of the National Conference will be materialized in stubborn, productive work. The results will be evaluated by the 10th Congress. What is behind us, the most dramatic, justifies the belief that what is in store for us, the most difficult, will be fulfilled in keeping with the best traditions of our party, the most important chapters in the 40 years of accomplishments in the form of socialist transformation of Polish realities, and in accordance with the demands of patriotism and internationalism.

6115  
CSO: 2600/984



MILITARY INSTITUTE COMMANDER DISCUSSES ITS ACHIEVEMENTS

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 1, 1 Jan 84 pp 5, 8

[Interview with Col Janusz Janecki, commandant of the Military Institute of Armor and Automotive Technology, by Tadeusz Oziemkowski: "Meeting Our Requirements in a Timely Manner"]

[Text] ZOLNIERZ POLSKI interviews the commandant of the Military Institute of Armor and Automotive Technology, Professor Doctor of Engineering, Col Janusz Janecki.

[Question] Thirty-six years ago this testing station which belonged to the National Defense Ministry's Department of Automotive Service began to function as a specialized scientific-research center which....

[Answer] ...has been called the Military Institute of Armor and Automotive Technology since April 1965. In the past years, irrespective of the fact that we are a research testing station, a scientific testing range, a research facility and center and even in spite of our "window sign," both the scientists and the directorship of these facilities have always had the ambition to expand our program of scientific research. This did not result from their own "whims," but was programed by the steady development of military thought and the introduction in our military's arsenal of newer and more improved armor and automotive equipment. At the same time, requirements grew in the area of technology with regard to providing our troops for combat operations on the modern battlefield; this led to the uninterrupted expansion of our activities here at this specialized scientific-research facility.

[Question] Under the conditions of the modern battlefield, we cannot always afford oneself the opportunity of sending combat equipment to the rear, i.e., to station repair facilities.

[Answer] This is obvious. In order to deal more effectively with this type of requirement, we developed and introduced in range practices a system of maintenance and repair for armored equipment under field conditions. Additionally, and while meeting current requirements in a timely manner, we systematically modernized our repair-maintenance facilities where the best organized approach to repair under field conditions is the so-called procedure of "repair-by-the-numbers." We have also introduced the control and checking

of maintenance, repair, and diagnostic tools for military motor vehicles, presented proposals for changes and improvements, and have developed some new tools for our work as well. Total maintenance and repair procedures for various types of equipment have been put together in our facilities. Moreover, we have introduced control procedures in the way we perform interim service and repair work based on the far-sighted research on the basic system BWP [infantry combat vehicles].

[Question] Under certain circumstances, it is necessary to evacuate both vehicles and military equipment from the battlefield.

[Answer] Currently we are still testing, but soon we will have introduced in all units a developed and proven system for evacuating vehicles by utilizing various methods of evacuation to do so. Additionally, we have developed methods for military vehicles, like tracked vehicles with weapons, supply vehicles, etc., to overcome water obstacles.

[Question] Do the new vehicles delivered to the inventory of our forces and services undergo testing and evaluation?

[Answer] This work is at the heart of our institute. We perform most of our testing on the track and gear functions of the equipment; in several cases, we test whole assemblies of automotive systems and parts on the spot.

[Question] Are you totally satisfied with the work and accomplishments of the institute, Colonel?

[Answer] The answer to that question is quite complicated. For example, we have set up coordinated and specialized scientific teams in the past few years. As a result, our work is better; we work faster and more efficiently. Another important item is that we can legally confer doctorates on our scientists because we have five research employees--professors and assistant professors--at the institute. This contributes to the betterment of the institute's cadre and development of research activity.

Working at our institute is neither easy nor especially attractive; a job in any scientific position is tedious and strenuous. Despite certain shortcomings, I am satisfied with being the commandant of this institute. Despite my efforts, I was not very successful in attracting younger people to our cadres. It is a disconcerting fact of life that a science officer under 30 rarely makes it to our institute. We also were not successful, although we tried, in acquiring all the necessary instruments and equipment to conduct scientific research.

[Question] When did you develop such a predilection for mechanical things, Colonel?

[Answer] It goes all the way back to the occupation, when I was a farmhand on the estate of a Prussian Junker and began riding around on a Lanz-Bulldog tractor. After the liberation, everything indicated that, as a son of a member of the Polish Socialist Party, I would be a youthful party activist

first before I would be an enthusiast of mechanics. Already during the first year of peace, I joined the Fighters Youth Union while still a pupil at a mathematics and physics institute; a year later, I joined the Polish Workers Party to spite my father, who remained a loyal member of the Polish Socialist Party. As a non-resident student, I took examinations for my degree in 13 (!) subjects, including 4 written. I was the top student with a 2 in history, but 1's in all the rest; this was our grading system back then. When I last participated in a graduate reunion, it turned out that my contemporaries, Professor Sobczynski, Dr Gaszynski and Dr Szmydt--an official with the Polish Academy of Sciences, director of the Poznan Institute of Engineering and a science official at the same institute, respectively--had also been successful in their chosen careers.

[Question] What did you do after graduation?

[Answer] In 1974 I volunteered for Communications Officer School. Although I was the only officer cadet with a secondary education, I had to hang up my uniform because I had poor eyesight. I returned home and took up further study. This I completed successfully. I then took up the position of senior assistant at the Engineering School and continued my work. In June 1951 I was accepted at the Military Academy of Technology. There, no one asked me if I wanted to be a professional soldier. Several days later, after a conversation in the Defense Ministry's Department of Personnel, I was appointed a lieutenant in the Tank Exploitation Department. After 5 years, when I was appointed director of that department, I was already an expert engineer and well along in my doctorate work.

[Question] What was the subject of your doctoral dissertation?

[Answer] The problem of friction, lubrication and wear in machines. Today, this branch of technical knowledge has a generally accepted name--trybology. In 1961 I defended my dissertation under the direction of Professor Stefan Ziemia; a year later, while the head of an enlarged department for mechanical-track and wheel vehicle utilization, I was already a lieutenant colonel and finishing my work to become an assistant professor.

I took my oral examination for assistant professor at the Institute of Technical Engineering in Warsaw in 1969; I began my work and service here at the institute in 1970.

[Question] What kind of situation did you find the institute in when you became its commandant, colonel?

[Answer] The institution already had a reputation as a scientific research facility, but only one of its officials possessed a doctorate. Beyond this, there were no real scientists among the cadre, neither military nor civilian. At the beginning of 1968, the institute had deficit problems; at the same time, a fundamental reorganization to accommodate the requirements of modernized military technology took place.

[Question] Colonel, for more than 30 years you have been with the military. What have you contributed to science?

[Answer] My personal contribution consists of 150 publications--articles, monographs, scientific-research and applied works--both in the military and in the civilian press here, in the CEMA countries and in the West. Members of the institute have more than 500 publications. I have often been a participant at international congresses and scientific conferences.

[Question] Which of these made a strong impression on you?

[Answer] I think it was the Second European Congress of Trybology--Eurotrib--in Duesseldorf in 1978 where my paper on the problems of forming braking substances evoked interest. I advanced the proven concept of forecasting the useful properties of such substances based on a conscious selection of the quantity and quality of their elements. Some time later, and with no less interest, one of the institutes of the Soviet Academy of Sciences accepted my concept. I should, however, be talking about the accomplishments of the institute....

[Question] Go on....

[Answer] Probably the greatest accomplishment of this institute is that now, in the military's sheds where tank and automotive or engineering equipment is housed, there is practically no corrosion. We have developed here several concoctions the application of which has protected steel, heavy and light metals and electrical contacts--which are also being kept clean--without using the old methods of greasing. Additionally, we are using extensively a protective wax which has general preserving properties for metals and can protect rubber against atmospheric aging; it also has such properties that the equipment covered need not be cleansed of it for immediate use.

[Question] What if we are talking about large-calibre pieces of military equipment; do we have a of protecting it in storage safely over a period of many years?

[Answer] Yes. We have also developed a chemical complex which totally solves the problem of storing such equipment for years under conditions where the risk of corrosion and aging is great. I am particularly thinking about efforts which focus on the stabilization of polyethylene in anticorrosive coatings, the concealment of coatings and the protection of tires and rubber seals.

[Question] It is no secret that the results of the institute's research and development efforts in this area have found extensive application in the civilian economy and are the source of considerable savings.

[Answer] The struggle against corrosion is a problem for the entire national economy and for this reason we have made the results of our labors here available to all interested ministries. I will also take advantage of this opportunity to say something about our other scientific research efforts, which have given us great satisfaction and the national economy enormous advantages.

For example, we have combined two metals--zinc and aluminum--to produce a special bearing metal which has been used in several parts of the Ursus tractor. At the same time, we have found substitutes for elements containing copper, which is both expensive and in short supply. Have the results been good? The products of our scientific efforts have been effectively used on more than 1,000 tractors. The production of parts with this alloy will soon begin in the Gdansk Slide Bearing Factory.

We are currently conducting operations for the adaptation of two kinds of special braking substances for use in our Polish Fiat. We have also developed braking substances for fast wheels which turn up to 200 kilometers an hour. These new brakes are currently undergoing tests with the railroad. I have to add that a substance produced in West Germany is not any better in quality, while our product has 30 percent more durability. Most importantly, it is made of elements which are not required from the West. A third interesting item which does not have to be imported and which we have given over to the civilians are metals used in motor engines; these metals are now produced on order by the Nowotko Mills. Many millions are saved today because of these metals, and our scientists have been decorated for their development.

[Question] Decorated indeed. The institute's scientists have often been the recipients of state and defense ministry awards....

[Answer] I remember that in 1976 the team directed by Doctor of Engineering Tadeusz Czarnecki received a state award, second class, for the development and application of a method to protect technical equipment from corrosion. We have also received many awards and distinctions from the Ministry of National Defense, including: in 1962 for the development of a hydraulic steering mechanism for the tank, in 1968 for the adaptation of high-speed motors to operation with various fuels, in 1979 for the development of a greaseless agent for timely protection against corrosion, in 1972 for the establishment of a department of technical readiness, in 1975 for efforts to increase the longevity of engines running in track vehicles, and in 1979 for the development of an accounting system for material engineering.

[Question] The institute not only turns out ready-made products, but is a propaganda and indoctrination center as well.

[Answer] Every year we hold classes and show equipment, new construction developments, technology, research methods and the accomplishments of our institute to members of various other military institutions, the Sejm's Commission for National Defense, the military representations from the member states of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, foreign delegations and members of officer reserve circles.

[Question] Please give us the names of the institute's most deserving scientists.

[Answer] There are many of them, but undoubtedly most of the work for the institute has been done by: Professor of Engineering Div Gen Jerzy Modrewski;

Assistant Professor of Engineering Ryszard Marczak; Doctor of Engineering Prof Zbigniew Brudzinski; Doctor of Engineering Col Janusz Balcerzak; Master of Engineering Tadeusz Czarnecki; Master of Engineering Wacław Nerlo; and Doctor of Engineering Jerzy Powojński.

At the end of this interview, we would like to add that recently at the commemoration of the 40th Anniversary of the Polish People's Republic we were given a standard in a ceremony funded by the local public; this was a source of inspiration and satisfaction for both the institute's cadre and civilian scientists. This satisfaction was even greater because the institute was also distinguished with the Order of Labor, Second Class. Last year, it was decorated by the defense minister with the medal "For Achievements in Military Service."

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

12247

CSO: 2600/928

## OPINION CENTER DIRECTOR DISCUSSES RESEARCH METHODS

Warsaw KIERUNKI in Polish No 19, 6 May 84 p 10

[Article by Col Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, director of the Public Opinion Research Center]

[Text] The Public Opinion Research Center is already a year old. The establishment of such an institution had been planned for a long time. However, the fact that this occurred during the period of martial law and that a resolution in this matter was signed by the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, has its significance.

From the very beginning, official care for the "newborn" institution has been in the hands of the chairman of the Sociopolitical Committee of the Council of Ministers and the head of the Office of the Council of Ministers. Like every child of busy, hard-working parents, the center has great freedom in its realm of activity, which is a matter of great pride. Perhaps that is why this child is somewhat unruly, not only toward its parents but also toward the public. It repeats all kinds of bad words which it has heard in the streets or it acts smart-alecky, as though it knows more. And no wonder--nowadays people use strong language in a tone which does not tolerate contradiction. And they think they know it all. This attitude rubs off.

In joking terms, so much for the beginning!? However, the CBOS [Public Opinion Research Center] does have serious and responsible tasks. It is entrusted with the responsibility of intermediating, as is customary to say, between the authorities and the public. Of course, there are considerably more institutions created for this purpose. We do not intend nor are we even capable of replacing them in this regard. Besides, in my opinion there can never be too much of this type of information.

Many new advisory-consultative organs have arisen: councils, commissions, teams. The government wants to and knows that it must make use of all forms of dialogue with the public; it seeks the advice of experts and of interested communities, of social organizations including trade unions and of nonunion citizens. It settles accounts publicly, most frequently through the mouthpiece of a government press spokesman as well as in the form of continuing information from the Government Press Bureau. It works with "an

open curtain"--as described by the premier--and speaks plainly about its aims and about what it is doing. It maintains direct contact with Sejm committees and presents its arguments during meetings with work forces and with trade unions in the course of conferences and numerous visits to work establishments.

Wishing to be as close as possible to its citizens, their needs and expectations, the government listens and asks questions--it wants to know. It consciously renounces the luxury of ignorance, knowing that that is no excuse. Besides, it is better for such an excuse not to be at all necessary. Wise decisions do not require explanations or alibis.

Not everyone can participate directly in decisionmaking. However, everyone should have the opportunity to express himself before reaching a decision. Opinion polling for political purposes should help in optimizing decisions and, at the same time, in gathering data on the social consequences of these decisions. It "should help" because whether it actually does help also depends on the one hand on the decisionmakers who ultimately make personal decisions. This is the rule and a serious obligation from which, for the sake of democratic centralism, no one will release them. On the other hand, this also depends on those who conduct the polls, on their qualifications, their scientific reliability and the credibility of the gathered information.

In accordance with the aforementioned resolution, the center was created "for the purpose of assuring information about public opinion with regard to the social and economic tasks assumed and implemented by the government."

In principle, the center's activity is to be of the service-functional type with regard to government needs. This would be a seemingly simple task if it were to be placed within the framework of task-implementation. But what would be the advantage of this? We must take into account here the time which is necessary for the implementation of just one task even with the highest degree of efficiency in conducting the research. Either we would have to receive assignments well in advance (but then the situation could undergo a substantial change by the time the research would be completed) or we could study only the effects of government decisions and limit ourselves to quick opinion surveys. Naturally, this is not a lot but it does represent a considerable limitation with respect to that which is possible. Due to its place between state administration and the public, the center can and will fulfill the function of an important indicator of mounting tension and will provide advance warning of such a situation. Whether it wants to or not, [the center] is in the situation in which it was created, after all, a political, government institution and not a party to matters which it studies. If so, it of course employs scientific methods, without which it has no basis for existing for the government or for the public.

Plainly speaking, we are a service institution in relation to the authorities, but not obligingly so. For this reason, the center must find its proper focus in the assessment of the situation by taking into account both differing points of view: the government one on a macroscale and the public



one, self-seeking in a private, professional and class sense. How to make these two points of view comparable for the instrumental purposes of the government and for purposes of educating both sides--that is the dilemma.

In its very nature, the government has prosocial intentions in its decisions. However, during the course of their implementation there sometimes occur so many unintended effects that they assume an adverse quality and are interpreted as harmful, unjust or ridiculous. Every decision made by the government will be interpreted differently by different social classes, substrata or groups. Government decisions will never please everyone. However, the realization of this is not enough. The crux of the matter lies in that before making a decision, it is important to know precisely, for the sake of reality, who will gain from this, who is indifferent about it and who stands to lose from it.

The state of the research conducted thus far has not given the government such possibilities of evaluating its activity. The center will also not be able to guarantee this right away because it focuses its attention on opinions, and therefore on that which is reflected in this focus. However, we will try as much as possible to define and supplement the state of knowledge about the actual socioeconomic position of the labor class in comparison with other classes and substrata. Therefore, in time we will also begin to fulfill an ideological function. And truthfully speaking, this is where this impartiality arising from scientific reliability becomes class-like in its implementation and, therefore, partial to workers' interests.

Our first results already indicate how greatly differentiated is that which we call public opinion. How important are conflicts of interest--class, community, professional and even those of generations? It is necessary to know these conflicts to prevent dissension.

Social or "public" opinion arises from controversy on some issue, occurrence political or economic fact; it develops around a decision or proposal made by the authorities. It is not possible to study opinions on every issue on request simply because not every issue becomes the object of public consideration. Public opinion has not only a political form but an unmistakably ideological one. The ties with politics are obvious; however, ideology expresses itself through the articulation of interests and manifests itself in the form of evaluations, surveys, moods and attitudes. This takes place on the level of common knowledge, usually with emotional overtones. Thus, the subjective and rather changeable character of opinions. The most important thing is to remember that opinions are always somebody's. There is no such thing as public opinion in general. Studies are conducted to know who voices such opinions.

It is the responsibility of the center to provide maximum information on social moods, evaluations and attitudes and on the state of public awareness. Such information is not gathered solely with the aid of surveys as it appears to some, especially to sociologists.

The research methods and sources of information must be diverse. Every study adds something new but it does not give a clear picture. Public opinion is recreated in a very painstaking manner, piece by piece until a clear picture appears from these pieces just as in a mosaic. We gather individual elements in various ways. This is the reason for the very diversified organizational structure of the center--various departments and teams, and also the reason for the planned diversity of studies and variety of methods and techniques.

In the social research branch we have three teams: the team for long-term research, the team for immediate research and the special research team. The first team is entrusted with recurrent topics--those which are constantly present in our programs and plans and which generally concern the state of awareness of the labor class. In upcoming years, these will be problems dealing with economic reform, self-government, trade unions, counteracting waste, inflation, speculation, social pathology, the activity of the state and economic administration, etc.

In turn, the immediate research team is geared rather toward specific needs, toward following attitudes and toward opinion polls on a smaller scale, such as on the subject of political events, new and important documents, government decisions and official pronouncements of representatives of the central authorities.

Unlike the two above-mentioned social research teams, the special research team does not stop at sociological methods but uses varied methods, including psychological and even journalistic forms. Its task is a special type of research which is quick, nontypical and most often without the assistance of pollsters.

The research task implementation team works on behalf of all the research teams. This team is composed of the following: the Department of Cooperation and Coordination, which oversees the progress of field research and organizes the work of district and provincial coordinators as well as that of the network of pollsters; the Method Workshop, which oversees the method aspect, particularly the statistical studies; and the EPD [Electronic Data Processing] Section.

In the area of analysis we have: the Department of Scientific Analysis; the Department of Press Analysis, including the center's on-duty telephone; and the Workshop for Analyses and Projections.

The Department of Scientific Analysis is assigned to observe what others are doing, especially ministerial and academic centers. Thus, the reason for the department section which gathers scientific and bibliographical information. Irrespective of our own research, we will commission various topics to other qualified institutions. The department is obligated to analyze scientific publications and periodicals, catching everything that might facilitate the government's decisionmaking process and assist in perfecting the style and methods of exercising authority.

In turn, the Department of Press Analysis studies the central and regional press. What we are looking for in the press is, above all, the opinions of experts and various indicators about facts and trends which appear in journalism and about public reaction to specific government actions decisions or proposals.

We have set in motion the Department of Letter Analysis.

Bureaus of Complaints and Letters are active in practically every central office of party and state authority: in the PZPR Central Committee, in the Sejm, in the State Council, in the Office of the Council of Ministers, the Chief Prosecutor's Office, the Supreme Chamber of Control, the Supreme Court, and in various ministries. Appropriate sections are assigned the editorial sections of newspapers and periodicals. There is a deluge of letters. During the year, millions of our citizens express themselves in writing on various issues. They are taken care of as petitioners. This gives rise to official reports on who, how many and about what, etc. However, these letters are not analyzed as they could be. The essential cognitive material is lagging behind in office files. And yet, the evaluations, signals and proposals contained in them, although not a reflection of the attitudes of all classes of the population, are an important source of information, concern the most serious problems of regional activity of organs of authority, and have a markedly evaluative character.

Of course, a letter is a very personal form of expression. All types of people write about various matters, most frequently about those matters which concern them: in one instance someone is being treated unfairly and is waiting for help; in other cases, something is bothering the people and they are writing about it to get it off their chest or they are simply signaling some sort of important, in their opinion, social problems--they want to prompt, help and call attention to these problems.

On a broader scale, letter analyses require proper preparation, especially that of the information facility. For the time being, we are acquiring experience by analyzing our own mail and letters addressed to the Office of the Council of Ministers, especially those which we term as being from the public. There are several thousand of them annually. They raise issues which are discussed in a given community; those which are part of the daily life and concerns of the people, which aggravate or please them or which are tied to the future. These letters constitute an important source of information for us. Our mail also contains many letters, and even though it is not part of our activity to intervene directly, we direct letters of complaint to the Bureau of Complaints and Letters at the Office of the Council of Ministers.

We do not want to ignore individual matters. Besides, individual matters stop being individual when they begin to accumulate, when they signal growing problems on a broad social scale, when they indicate a need for some sort of decision, for change, etc. Letters treated in this way fulfill heuristic functions: they help to uncover new truths, to present and verify hypotheses; and they serve as control material for other studies such as surveys.

There is also the center's on-duty telephone--a hot-line to the public. It was put into operation for the purpose of identifying and defining problems which are part of the daily life of various communities, social groups and also specifically of the people. The telephone is in service for 10 hours every day. On the basis of experience thus far, we can already say that the opinions relayed by phone constitute important information on reactions to specific events and are an inspiration to decisionmaking. They make it possible to follow social moods and the emotional commitment of citizens. Therefore, they constitute a valuable supplement to sociological studies and a vital determinant for the direction which they are to follow.

The telephone enables us to stay close to the ground. Next to other methods and techniques of reaching the public, it is a form of constant contact with all those who are not indifferent to that which is going on around them and who would like to offer their comments, proposals or complaints for public or government consideration. The idea of the telephone came about as a result of the desire to reach those who are silent, passive or indifferent. We anticipate that when something disturbs them, they will want to call and then maybe even write.

The Workshop of Analyses and Projections should come into being as soon as possible. It is only a matter of cadres--appropriately highly qualified experts whose task will be to process and put together information gathered in the entire center. From the many and varied analyses and scattered information, syntheses will later have to come about; otherwise, only the information deluge will increase. Soon we will be capable of prognosticating sociopolitical situations as well as the behavior of particular social classes, substrata and groups. The data for this are constantly growing at CBOS.

The Opinion Science Workshop uses totally different methods of research which are specially adapted to the community and to particular issues. Its work is organized by a programming team composed of representatives of different theoretical orientations from various political parties and Catholic associations. Its purpose is to study and become familiar with well-educated communities which are the most opinionated. This is the reason for the broad and open formula similar to that of PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth]. The first survey questionnaire was built around the question, "What Kind of Socialism?" The second questionnaire, entitled "The Civilizational Prospects for Socialist Poland," is aimed at gathering opinions, comments and proposals which could be useful in work on the formulation of a program of socialist change and a vision of Poland's development, in defining the directions and methods of these changes in a way which can bring together more relevantly public needs and aspirations with the realistic capabilities of the changes which take into account the interdependence of changes in the political system and civilizational changes. The course of such research is as follows: in the first phase, after gathering the written answers to the questionnaire, their list becomes accessible to all those who

had sent in such a study. During the second phase, all the respondents are given a chance to meet and discuss controversial issues.

In the center, everything is truly new, from the organizational and functional structure to the problems of a methodological and theoretical nature, and all this without any models or analogies which could provide a fully practical and theoretical foundation. What is of importance is to recreate the state of social awareness in all of the complexity in which it manifests itself. In realizing this fact, we began--regardless of all that which is happening within the institution--to set in motion the center's theoretical facility. On the basis of unselfish cooperation there arose the National Methodological Seminar, which brings together competent scholars from several centers. We expect to develop jointly such theoretical-methodological tools which will be useful to our research. Within the framework of the seminar, a programming team was appointed and has taken up as its most immediate task the subject range of its activity. The first meetings dealt mainly with the study of social awareness, the critical evaluation of the research methods used thus far, the structure of society and the category of public opinion.

The work on the first research project was begun with questions addressed to ministries and central offices: what do they expect from CBOS, what kind of information do they need, etc. It turned out that some do not have this kind of need whatsoever, others are not really sure what they could gain from us. Some of the questions addressed to us provided satisfaction at the session of the Sociopolitical Committee of the Council of Ministers during which the research plan was approved. Thus, it is necessary to learn how to take advantage of the opportunities offered by an institution of this type--to learn the difficult art of asking questions. It is also necessary to give up the official self-assuredness that one knows what one supposedly knows. "To know that one does not know and what it is that one does not know" is wisdom noted 3 centuries B.C. It is necessary to be aware of this knowledge, to place it under one's nose.

Only then does the entire plan begin to take shape and start to develop. This will also give rise to conflicts, especially when the results clash with someone's common understanding of social issues, of what kind of society this is and what it desires. It does happen now that after years of initial self-awe and then a period during which the opponent had monopoly over criticism, our first reports are treated suspiciously (we were even questioned about how many former Solidarity members work at CBOS). One of the directors of a large industrial plant cast doubt on the reliability of our studies, but did not agree to have them repeated.

On the other hand, it is worthwhile in turn to inform and show citizens that society is not a monolith but a complex system of often conflicting group, community and class interests. We intend to be active in promoting and publishing the results of our research. In addition, the most important thing is that our bulletin has finally appeared. Perhaps it will be possible to set in motion, together with the television medium, a special program on the basis of the converse of MONITOR RZADOWY [Government Monitor], entitled

"Monity do Rzadu" [Dunning Letters to the Government]. With the help of television reporters, specialists from the center could serve as intermediaries for relaying the opinions of selected communities to the government. These opinions would be relayed properly by formulating, evaluating and comparing them with other information from our studies, analyses and observations.

The center must be active in boosting its activity, must seek a common language for both sides, bring the government and public point of view closer together and try to give substance to the idea of understanding by demonstrating the sense of government activity against the background of differences and conflicts of interest.

9853

CSO: 2600/981

# TRAINING OF AIR DEFENSE CHEMICAL TROOPS OUTLINED

Poznan-Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LOTNICZYCH I WOJSK OBRONY POWIETRZNEJ KRAJU in Polish No 4, Apr 84 pp 11-12

[Article by Cpt Jozef Nowicki: "Organization, Goals, and Tasks of Air Defense Chemical Troops"]

[Text] Field training, in the totality of the combat training of air defense chemical troops, is coming to play a more and more important role, because it is a way of checking on the soldier's theoretical knowledge and ability to apply it to the future battlefield.

In order for the chemical subdetachments to be able to carry out the combat tasks assigned to them, the soldiers making them up know how to work rapidly and accurately in expanding installations, preparing contamination detection vehicles, and act in secret, as well as accurately and rapidly transmitting information using technical communications. In addition, they must be able to shoot accurately, to give first aid to the injured, to disarm mines, and so on. The soldiers acquire these skills in their home garrisons during special technical, tactical-special, engineering, communications, medical, and marksmanship training. A good knowledge of combat equipment along with the ability to use and operate it are essential to the conduct of tactical training. Good training results in the garrison are a guarantee of success in the practical field exercises of soldiers. Training effectiveness and combat readiness of the chemical subdetachments depend to a great extent on the quality of the exercises and the way in which they are conducted. The program calls for training soldiers of chemical units at winter, summer, and preparatory field encampments, where they perfect through practice the skills they have acquired and deepen their theoretical knowledge. Because the results of training depend on proper organization of the field exercises, we should improve our own organizational methods and also take advantage of the experience of other chemical troop practical training programs.

Field training groups are set up on the basis of the "Calendar of WOPK unit training activity" and the organizational command of the superior unit.

During the first period of field training and in the preparatory group, the main thing to teach is accuracy in carrying out actions until perfection is achieved.

It is through daily exercises and training sessions that skills are improved to the point of automatic reactions in the development, use, and storage of equipment during special tactical exercises.

Group training organizers should adapt practical exercises to real combat conditions to the maximum extent. Therefore, tactical exercises should be conducted in the field regardless of the weather, and long marches and other tasks which develop endurance and courage in the soldiers should be planned. The best results are achieved in camps set up in winter and summer. In them it is possible to create conditions similar to those of the actual battlefield. In detecting and eliminating contamination, soldiers must use private protective agents against contamination for several hours. Spending time in protective clothing develops in soldiers endurance, courage, and greater skill in carrying out tasks under difficult conditions. The possibility of simulating explosions and using various means of simulating a real battlefield make the exercises similar to real combat situations.

The purposes of field training of chemical troops are as follows:

mastering the skill of setting up and conducting contamination observation and detection, as well as dosimetric control of the condition of personnel and the equipment of the units;

mastering the skill of organizing and conducting medical treatment at the PZS under winter and summer conditions;

mastering the skill of extinguishing fires under field conditions;

developing teamwork among soldiers while they are performing specialized tasks;

improving chemical troop commands' ability to command subordinate units and to set up observation of chemical and radioactive contamination under various field and weather conditions and to organize the elimination of the contamination.

Chemical field training is the most closely related to future battlefield conditions (field and camp conditions). At the beginning of training, one should conduct exercises designed to improve all soldiers' practical skills and to bring the various platoons up to par.

During the first few days of training in the field, it is necessary to

acquaint all personnel with the weapons used on today's battlefield and they way they affect the human body along with the principles of administering first aid on the battlefield;

conduct occupational health and safety exercises with the cadres, instructors, and soldiers in basic service in the realm of using simulation on the battlefield during the tactical exercises.



Before the training begins, there should be instruction and demonstration sessions on the subject to be handled during the field training, showing in them the forms and methods of training under field training conditions.

At the training site each day, in the afternoon hours, give the platoon commanders (instructors) detailed instruction for the exercises to be conducted the next day, providing time to point out the training sites and the organizational and methodical problems which have occurred, indicating the reasons for their occurrence and the ways to eliminate them during the next day's exercises.

During the latter phase of field training attention should be given to the following:

proper action by soldiers under conditions where field is contaminated, and the maintaining of adequate precautions;

detailed conduct of discovery and detection of contamination;

exact conduct to eliminate contamination to weapons, equipment, and the field;

physical endurance of soldiers wearing protective clothing during heat waves and adverse temperature conditions.

Practical field training prepares troops from the beginning for tactical combat tasks conducted at the end of the practical field training, which has the following purposes:

to encourage private and group competition;

to raise the level of special tactical, special technical, and general military training;

to develop and mark the best subdetachments in specialized training.

Training in practical field training camps is the most effective stage of special tactical chemical troop training. The ultimate effect must be the attainment of full combat readiness, organizational efficiency, and cooperation among chemical troops in the overall performance of specialized tasks under real contamination conditions and in any combat situation of the modern battlefield.

10790

CSO: 2600/1020

## KECMANOVIC DISCUSSES ROLE, WEAKNESSES OF LCY

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 16 Apr 84 pp 36-38

[Article by Dr Nenad I. Kecmanovic: "A Stronger or a Weaker LCY?"]

[Text] According to Marx's definition of the revolutionary vanguard, communists are not mere members of an organization, but people who are in the forefront with their theory in the sense that they see further than other members of the movement and have a better overview of the general conditions of revolutionary activity. The experience of the current socioeconomic instability has shown that the League of Communists has not been foreseeing global social developments much better or much earlier than other Yugoslavs have managed to do. And only when the crisis was hitting more or less all citizens over the head, especially the working class, only then did it also become obvious to members of the party. Which means, then, that in the concrete historical moment the vanguard was not up to its conceptual definition and historical mission. Instead of the vanguard being out ahead of the crisis, it turned out that the crisis was ahead of the vanguard and objectively put it in a situation of critically reassessing its abilities to foresee and to lead. Inclined even in much more stable situations than the present one to seek solutions in sharply opposed antitheses, we immediately set up the oversimplified alternative--a stronger or a weaker LC?

That is, should the League of Communists wither away, or should it come to life?

However provocative this dilemma might sound in political terms, since it implies that our vanguard is in such a state of quiet vegetation that it is on the very edge between life and death, so that only a step divides it from resurrection and from agony, it is truly a fact that no small part of current reflections out loud about the party here and now fall precisely in the range between these extremes.

#### Point of Support

While some people feel that the way out of the economic crisis, which according to many people is also a political and moral crisis, should be sought above all in an urgent bolstering of party influence, yet others are persuaded that the solution is just the reverse, in relieving the processes of

self-management from excessive intervention of party officials at various levels. Who is right?

"The LC should pound its fist on the table," "Only the vanguard can pull us out of the current difficulties!" "The party should again become what it once was!"--that is what one hears from various quarters. Nor is it anything strange! The centrifugal tendencies in the political system have confederated our Federation in the direction of republic-provincial statism, nationalistic bureaucracy and separatistic isolationism. The process of disintegration of the economic system has been manifested in a shattering of the Yugoslav market, in the multiplication of capacity, in the atomization of economic entities, in the encapsulization of the national economies, in unwise investment projects, in overindebtedness at the expense of others, and so on. The symptoms of moral erosion have seized upon society in all its segments, which is manifested in irresponsibility, distrust, laziness, lack of discipline, corruption, apathy, thievery and negligence.

If the broader political dimensions and deeper sociohistorical roots of the negative developments described have remained to some extent insufficiently accessible to the eye, ear and mind of the so-called average man, the concrete consequences have clearly come down on his back at the altogether tangible level of everyday life. The irredentist chasing of Serbs and Montenegrins from their native places in Kosovo, which has still not been halted, the dramatic political confrontations of responsible and irresponsible speakers and writers about the outstanding issues of our joint survival, the leakage of the state secret about the price freeze by members of the Federal Executive Council in order to benefit the economy in their own republic or province, the galloping rise of prices, which in spite of the administrative curbs is unsparingly trampling on the standard of living--all these things have had the result that the working people and citizens are almost in a panic to seek some firm point of support. It is quite understandable that they have placed all their hope on an organization which represents the historical embodiment of Yugoslav unity and brotherhood, revolutionary effectiveness, internal discipline and ethical consistency. That only a stronger party can guarantee social justice, guarantee the truth, and protect the freedom--that is one of the most powerful stereotypes held by a large majority of the inhabitants of this region, be they themselves members of the League of Communists or not.

#### The Line

By contrast with these demands, those familiar with theory recall that the vanguard--be it a party or a league--at least if one is to follow the classics of Marxism, is supposed to wither away under socialism. The outcome of the long-term tendency within which the class as a whole is constantly, though gradually and over a long period of time, gaining and developing revolutionary self-consciousness is that the gap between the communists who are out in front and the others who are lagging behind closes, and then eventually it disappears. Although that future is still quite far off, nevertheless "the nearly four decades of the revolutionary activity of the CPY-LCY under the conditions of the construction of socialism"--as we usually put it

in science--must still have yielded a visible result even in the area of making the line of demarcation less distinct between the vanguard and the rear guard.

A whole series of analysts of the prestabilization period have recently made themselves heard along the line of these premises in political theory, whose Marxist legitimacy quite certainly cannot be disputed. In direct counterposition to the cries already mentioned for a stronger party, which once again has a certain empirical logic, we cannot deny it, these theoreticians judged that our League of Communists, just the reverse, is in fact too strong.

The vanguard organization, by virtue of its formal and informal political authority, is allegedly blocking the normatively projected broader scope of the democracy of socialist self-management, through its arbitrary intervention in economic flows it is deforming the constructive operation of the market and other economic mechanisms, and by virtue of its ideological monopoly on the truth, it is hampering the freedom of artistic and scientific creativity and of cultural creativity in general.

Stated quite liberally and in approximate and simple terms, this is the essence of the presentation of a small group of Yugoslav political scientists, sociologists, economists and philosophers ... who have otherwise shown a professional inclination toward reflecting aloud outside the current operational and political stereotypes concerning the party. The specific variations stretch from the affirmative statement "that today there are more people committed to socialism and self-management than there ever were and that the LC has thereby exhausted a portion of its vanguard function"--which can be interpreted as the message that the party setup should be adapted to its reduced role. Then the outright proposal has also been heard to the effect that the actual, though not nominal one-party, monopoly should be democratized either through the tolerance of pluralism within the organization or through greater affirmation of an external corrective in the form of a much stronger Socialist Alliance or "League of Socialists." Finally, under an obvious influence of Eurocommunist inspiration, there is doubt about the further relevance of certain classical Marxist categories (the dictatorship of the proletariat, democratic centralism) in their Bolshevik version, since they were, to be sure, the right answer to the cramped conditions of early socialism, but not to today's conditions, which are far more favorable, to which Marx's original conception of those same categories would be more suitable.

#### Blasphemy

Although it is quite certain that many aspects, both theoretical and political, of the views we have paraphrased are extremely debatable, by no means does this signify that they should be rejected a priori even as an effort to reflect freely about how the party organization might undergo permanent transformation in line with the real social changes which it itself previously initiated or which are taking place spontaneously. And just as the officials and activists of the LC are working on this constantly in order to increase the effectiveness of current social action and of daily political

tactics, the same should also be done, at least from time, by party ideologists and Marxist theoreticians in order to adapt the communist organization to the stage that has been reached in carrying out the movement's long-range strategy. Otherwise we have fallen into pragmatism.

Nevertheless, the reaction which has followed was anything but at the level of these fundamental premises. As so often occurs with us, a fire alarm was set off in panic in the heads of the ideological firefighters for emergency intervention against those who play recklessly with flammable ideas. All the authors who dared to engage in critical reflection about the party were thrust into the camp of the opposition by summary procedure. This alleged magnum crimen--"the demand for abolishing the LC," has been set down, however, in no less a place than our own party program, which has been in effect since way back in 1958. This is literally what it says: "The leading political role of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia will vanish in the future--as ever more comprehensive forms of direct socialist democracy develop and become stronger." Of course, that is what it says, since in that segment of the left Hegelian tradition on which Marxism is based the term *ukidanje* does not mean the same as liquidation, elimination, destruction, deletion, demolition, and so on. By contrast with our colloquial language, in which these are all synonyms more or less, in Marx, just as in Hegel, *ukinuti* is to overcome, to surmount, to supersede, to grow beyond, and so on, what has historically exhausted its internal possibilities for development, that is, realized its historical function.

Although we are talking, then, about a banality, the commonly known and elementary Marxist premises which are incorporated even into the programmatic documents of the LCY, the dogmatic outlook, fettered by the inertia of operational schemes, and the empirical outlook, a slave to the status quo as the only possible condition, are outraged by the very thought of the *ukidanje* of the revolutionary party, which they take to be the blackest blasphemy. So, long ago we all assimilated en masse the Marxist thesis of the withering away of the state under socialism, so that even when here and there it becomes stronger than was planned or when it is still quite tangible, we feel not only the need, but indeed the right, even the political obligation, to criticize it at the top of our voice on behalf of the development of self-management. The attacks on statism--federal, republic, provincial, *opstina*, and so on--have become all but the refrain of every speech in day-to-day politics, and this has been true since the fifties. The state is the necessary evil of the transitional period, and its displacement is a measure of progress in the development of socialism. But to say that the party should wither away as a separate organization, that the institutionalized vanguard is a necessary evil of this phase of our development, that a weakening of the League of Communists is an index of the maturing consciousness of the working class, the working people and citizens--this involves no small risk on the part of the author that he will have some serious political names showered upon him.

## Myths

In short, long ago we demystified the socialist state as a passing phenomenon of the transitional period--yet the communist organization still remained the

unsuperseded myth of socialism in general and of this self-management socialism of ours in particular. That is why anyone who appeals to its destiny, saying that it has to be identical to the destiny of the state, or who says that we are coming closer to it, will not be regarded as a Marxist and a communist, nor will his words be taken as a compliment to this society, which, according to that thesis, would be approaching the great goal, but rather he will be taken as an enemy who is striking the only possible savior from the current crisis which we still have. Should it by some chance occur to anyone to harbor such thoughts out loud in connection with the army or police as entities also of the state which is withering away, he would have trouble defending himself against the charge that he is a bureaucrat, a statist, a neo-Cominformist, a Rankovicite, a Stalinist.

In criticizing government intervention as the greatest obstacle to the development of self-management, usually we rightly recall the sinister experiences of the hypertrophy of statism as the birthplace of Stalinism. But at the same time, we would say, we sometimes are not mindful enough that that was a system of symbiosis between the party and the government in which it was not the state or the government, the prime minister, the other ministers, the army, or the police which had the primacy, but the center of power was located precisely at the top of the vanguard, with the political commissars, in the party secretariat, in the central committees, and certainly at the top level, in the politburo, and in the iron hands of General Secretary Josif Vassarionovich. Accordingly, perhaps that type of politocracy might more appropriately be referred to as party-ocracy than statism.

But much more important than these conceptual and terminological distinctions is the basic lesson that strengthening the party to become a force over and above society does not lead to different consequences, but to an altogether analogous process of statization. Perpetuation of the vanguard as a permanent feature of socialism would be just as dangerous if we were to see in the state an unsurmountable constant of the historical development of the proletarian movement. The assertion which has been expressed that the League of Communists ought not to wither away here and now because we are not yet 100 percent in favor of self-management, but rather we have leftists, rightists, liberals and dogmatists, and ... would in its stupidity be quite on a par with the judgment that so long as we have pickpockets, thieves, bullies and similar types in our society, the state must not wither away by any means.

To evaluate socialist practice from the standpoint of revolutionary theory, however, one stumbles over some of our prolecult stereotypes which still have not been altogether superseded concerning the transitional period as a society in which everything should grow, should flourish, should ferment, should progress.... The party especially, perhaps above all else. How ugly it would sound to our ears, habituated to this over the decades, if someone were to say at some political meeting that our self-management is "flourishing" and that therefore the League of Communists is "withering"! It somehow would be more apt if our class were ever more conscious and our party ever more of a vanguard, although in Marxist terms this is utter nonsense. It was to no avail that the vanguard itself declared that it would no longer be involved in administration, but would provide ideological guidance, that it would not be

outside and above, but within the system, that it would be constitutionally equal with other entities, in vain did it increase its numbers, reorganize by rewriting its bylaws, transform itself from a party to a league, and so on-- the same thing has still been repeated! When things are going well with us, then that is above all to the credit of the party, and when things go bad with us, then that is because the League of Communists has been sidetracked. Thus a dangerous illusion has been shaped to the effect that the vanguard is immortal and that without it there is nothing. We are all aware that the CP "gave birth" to self-management, but by no means do we accept that now self-management ought to "bury" the LC. As it was yesterday, so shall it be today as well. Everyone is waiting to see what the League of Communists will do like some good fairy from the story about Trnruzica, who only needs to be waked up to breathe strength and determination into us to overcome all difficulties and problems. This almost religious attitude, according to which it is not we who make up the party, but it which creates us, has been nourished in us to a great extent by the vanguard itself, which often has not resisted the temptation to propagate the "agitprop" myth about its own metaphysical greatness, about its infallible past, about its unbroken historical arch of triumph, about its absolute knowledge, about the moves which it has made, which have always been the right ones at the right time. Thus for its own part it has done quite a bit to foster the attitude in the base which it must now wrestle with: that vanguardism is perceived even by communists as something outside them, not something within themselves.

The attitude of society's great expectation of the "party which resolves everything" is analogous to the rank and file of the LC placing great hopes on the leadership of the organization to make spectacular moves. Both of them, that is, are constantly forecasting some watershed meeting of the LCY Central Committee, they put their stakes on some real figures who climb to the top by the regular procedure every year and then step down, they sigh about what would happen if we now had Tito and Kardelj, they speculate about certain important dismissals and the corresponding rehabilitation, they dream about absolute unity, and they are frightened of a definitive breakup.

... But our situation is what it is primarily and exactly because self-management has been absolutely unable to get used to the idea that the vanguard is no longer issuing directives, and the latter in turn has been absolutely unable to get out of the habit of treating its own transformation from the CP to the LC as a mere change of name. Whereas the party by definition has a more pronounced vertical structure, which implies a nucleus of personnel and a mass of followers, an active minority and a passive majority, instructors and operatives, ideologues and propagandists, personnel men and bureaucrats-- the league, indeed by the very name which our vanguard has had since back at the 6th congress, states and suggests a more pronounced horizontal structure in which every member, as in an organization of freely associated communists, would be much more active in democratic decisionmaking so as to be able to be consistent in the centralistic execution of those decisions.

In other words, the League of Communists is incompatible with a self-assured leadership that has cut itself off, that makes decisions in forums and is optimally complemented by an inert rank and file, with a great many people who

say nothing, careerists, observers and fellow travelers who get very little of those things done. In order to become an organization with greater discipline, the League of Communists should first become an organization of much greater initiative, in which the word of every activist is heard and given its true value throughout the entire organization, and indeed more broadly in society. Today we already see clearly that if that were the case, we would have avoided many errors or prevented them in time. That is the only way for the vanguard to operate as a "collective intellectual" (gramsci), taking maximum advantage of its total communist potential for correct prediction and leadership. This would at the same time be a "stronger" LC, but also a "weaker" one, insofar as it withered away by attracting, mobilizing and involving an ever more massive membership.

7045

CSO: 2800/325

END